A SKETCH

OF THE

HINDUSTANI LAN

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PREFACE.

The following pages were written as an article on the Hindustani language for the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This will explain many of their deficiencies in matter and style, the utmost conciseness of expression having been aimed at, and everything which could, in the writer's opinion, be omitted as not absolutely essential having been cut out. Even after the compression to which the article was subjected in MS., it was deemed by the Editor too detailed and minute in its treatment for insertion in the *Encyclopædia*.

Believing that the article may have some interest and utility for students of the most widely-spoken vernacular language of India, the writer gladly availed himself of the offer of the publishers of the *Encyclopædia* to issue it in a book form. It will be seen from the frequent statement of authorities that the sketch contains little original matter; and on all points connected with the history of the language the writer has been content to follow those guides who seemed to him best qualified. His own attainments are confined to such a knowledge of the language as a vernacular speech, as could be gained by constant daily

use of it in eleven years of service in India, and some acquaintance with the literature both of former times and of the present day.

The article was finished in October 1879, and it has not, owing to the writer's return to India, been possible to utilize for it any authorities of later date. To those named at the end, should be added Dr A. F. R. Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gandian Languages, with special reference to Eastern Hindi*, which, however, the writer has not yet seen.

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HINDUSTANI LANGUAGE.

Hindustani (correctly Hindostānī[1]) is the name given by Europeans to the most generally spoken and understood of the modern Aryan languages of India. According to its etymology it should designate the tongue spoken in that part of India which was called by the Mughal (Mogul) historians Hindostān, viz., the tract bounded on the N. by the Himālaya, on the E. by Bengal, on the S. by the Vindhyās or the Dakkhan, and on the W. by the Panjāb, and this region is in fact the original seat of the language. But outside these boundaries the use of Hindustani is widespread: it is very generally spoken and understood throughout Bengal, more especially by the Musalmān population in the eastern districts: it is [illegible]

[illegible]

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[1] *Hindostān* is a Persian compound signifying "country of the Hindūs." The [illegible]
and bostān [illegible]
e; even the [illegible]
be *Hindo*, [illegible]
distinction [illegible]
reciters of [illegible]
the moder[illegible]
country of [illegible] (*sapta sindhu*) or "seven rivers," now called, with the omission of two (probably the Saraswati and Drishadwati or Ghaggar), the Panj-āb.

Hindustani is, as has been said, rather the European than the native appellation: the various forms of the language are by native authors called by different names, and it may be doubted whether the name Hindustani is ever used except under European influence. The dialect written in the Persian character, largely stocked with Persian words and phrases, and spoken chiefly in towns and by Musalmāns or Hindūs imbued with Persian culture, is known as *Urdū*, a name said to be derived from the *Urdū-e mu'allā*, or royal military bazaar outside the fortified royal palace at Dehli. This language, when used in poetry, is called *Rekhtah* ("crumbled," "scattered," from the manner in which the vernacular is strewn with Persian importations), and when the poems are written in the special dialect of the *zanānah*, which has a vocabulary of its own, it is named *Rekhtī* (a feminine, in a diminutive sense, of *Rekhtah*). In the region to the south of the Narmadā the same language is called *Dakhnī* ("belonging to the Dakkhan or Deccan"); though also written in the Persian character, this variety of Urdū retains a much larger proportion of Indian (as opposed to Persian) words, and is altogether more archaic in its grammatical forms, than the language of the North; a certain proportion of its peculiarities must be ascribed to its separate development as the tongue of Muhammadan colonies severed for some centuries from their original country. On the other hand, that form of Hindustani which employs the Deva-nāgarī character or varieties of it, and is used chiefly by Hindūs, is denominated by Europeans *Hindī*, and by the natives generally (in its literary form) *bhāshā* (or *bhākhā*), that is, "the language" *par excellence*. *Hindī*, indeed, being merely an Arabic relative adjective from *Hind*, India, should by right be as applicable to any form of Hindustani as to the peculiar dialect of the Hindūs, and is in fact used by *native* authors in this sense.

Of Hindī (as above defined) there are many varieties, and on the boundaries of the Hindustani-speaking area it shades off almost imperceptibly into the cognate dialects. The following types are the most important:—

(1) The so-called High Hindī, which agrees in its grammatical structure with Urdū, but where the latter recruits its vocabulary

from Persian prefers to borrow from Sanskrit. So far as this represents an actually spoken dialect, it may be considered the

into Gujarati.

(6) and (7) The hill dialects of Garhwāl and Kumāun, which shew affinities rather with Mārwārī and Mewārī than with the neighbouring dialects of the plains

(8) Nepālī, the language of Nepāl

(9) Awadhī or Baiswārī, the dialect of Oudh (Awadh) and Eastern Ruhelkhand.

The local varieties of dialect in Hindī are as yet far from having been thoroughly investigated; only two or three of them have any literature, and in the mouths of the people the language changes, both as to form and vocabulary, every few miles It is, however, believed that those above mentioned are the main types to which local variations may be referred; and at any rate they are the only forms as yet available for study by Europeans. The first eight may be classed together as belonging to a western, and the remaining four to an eastern group of dialects.

Besides the above named varieties of Urdū and Hindī, which are all living and spoken languages, there exist others which are now represented only by literary memorials. Such is the language of the heroic ballads of Rājpūtānā, among which are to be found some of the oldest specimens of Hindī; that of the *Bhagats* or Vaishnava religious reformers, the most important of whom, from a literary point of view, are Kabīr and Sūr-Dās; that of Tulsī-Dās, the author of the *Rāmāyan*, the most popular work in Hindī. The language of Tulsī-Dās belongs mainly to the eastern type now represented by Awadhī and Bhojpurī, and is de-

nominated by Mr Kellogg (the chief and almost the only authority on Hindī dialects) *Old Pūrbī*; while that of Chand and the Bhagats is of the western type. Dr Trumpp, the translator of the *Ādi Granth*, has proposed to call the extinct dialects of the language *Hindūī*, which again he divides into *Old Hindūī*, comprising the specimens down to the close of the period of the Bhagats and the redaction of the *Ādi Granth* (about 1600), and *Hindūī*, comprising the speech of Tulsī-Dās and his contemporaries and followers down to about 1750. But this division, however convenient, does not appear to represent any actual sharp line of demarcation; the type of the language proceeds from archaic to modern by insensible gradations.

It has been said that few of these dialects have any literature; of most of them the systematic study has only recently begun. Urdū, with its varieties of Rekhtah and Dakhnī, counts a long roll of writers; grammars and dictionaries of it are easily accessible. High Hindī, as distinguished from Urdū, is an idiom of recent growth, owing its literary cultivation in a great measure to the influence of the educational department in Northern India, and to the development of a Hindū opposition to Muhammadan forms of expression. Of Old Hindūī the specimens accessible to Europeans are not numerous. A portion of the *Prithirāj Rāsau*, an heroic poem describing the career of the last Hindū king of Dehli, ascribed to Chand, has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The *Ādi Granth*, which embodies many valuable specimens of Old Hindūī in the poems of the Bhagats, has been partially translated into English by Dr Ernest Trumpp; the original text has recently been lithographed at Lahore, and a small portion of it has been appended by Dr Trumpp to his translation. Portions of the poems of Kabīr and his followers have been printed in India, but are seldom to be found, except in manuscript, in Europe. Of later Hindūī literature (Sūr-Dās, Tulsī-Dās, &c.) and of compositions in modern Braj-bhāshā, there are many specimens, both printed and lithographed, to be found in any bazaar in India; the best known prose work in the last named dialect is the *Rājnīti* of Lallū Lāl. Of the other Hindī dialects our

knowledge is derived mainly from the grammar of Mr

have been prepared under the direction of missionaries; of one, Mārwārī, we have a valuable specimen in a collection of *Khiyāls* or dramas edited by the Rev. J. Robson of the Presbyterian mission at Beāwar (*Mission Press*, 1866)

For the best account as yet given of the manifold dialects of Hindustani, the reader is referred to Mr Kellogg's grammar.

tory of the formation of the language.

2. Though the vocabulary of Hindustani is largely recruited from Persian, and, through Persian, from Arabic, its grammar and phonetic structure are wholly of indigenous growth. To Sanskrit and Prākrit it bears the same relationship as that borne by the Romance Languages to Classical and Low Latin; and the parallel between the two lines of descent, both in phonetic degradation and the modern growth of analytic grammatical forms, is in many respects strikingly close. As in the case of the Romance Languages,

in the germ almost all the modern developments, though their general structure still bears clear marks of the recent growth of the language out of the synthetic Prākrit. These oldest specimens are, moreover (like all Hindustani literature down to very recent times), in verse, and it must remain in some degree uncertain how far peculiarities of spelling and structure are merely to be attributed to poetic licence. The very unsettled state of the orthography of Hindī, and the possibility that in the transmission of ancient works their style has been modernized, also help to make the historical study of Old Hindī a subject in which absolute certainty is difficult of attainment; and although the few original materials which we possess are of the

greatest value, perhaps the clearest light is cast upon the historical development of the language by the actually subsisting dialectic forms of Hindī and those of its sisters, Gujarātī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Marāṭhī, Bengali, and Oṛiyā.

In ancient Aryan India Sanskrit ceased at a very early date to be the vernacular speech. Already at the appearance of Gautama Buddha (about 650 B.C.) the language current in what is now Eastern Oudh and Bihār was a Prākrit, and that form of the vulgar tongue, or another nearly related, became the sacred language of the Buddhists under the name of Māgadhī or Pālī. At a later date another Prākrit, that of the south-western area corresponding to Southern Rājpūtānā and Gujarāt, became the literary language of the Jaina sect. And still more recently the dramatists of Mālwā employed a further development of the same stock as the idiom of the menial and female characters in their plays. Grammars of Prākrit, discussing minutely its relation to Sanskrit, were drawn up by Kachchāyana, Vararuchi, Hemachandra, and others; and in the different forms of the dialects known by this common name we have the beginning and development of almost all the processes which brought into being Hindī and its sister languages. In the present article an attempt is made to trace the operation of these processes, first in regard to sounds, and secondly in the grammar in the typical instances of the inflexion of the noun and the verb, in modern Hindī.

3. Native grammarians divide words into the following classes:—

1. *Tat-samas*, or "the same as that," *i.e.*, Sanskrit;
2. *Tad-bhavas*, or "of the nature of that";
3. *Deśajas*, or "country-born";

to which should be added, as a fourth class, words of foreign (almost entirely Persian) origin. *Tatsamas* are Sanskrit words used in Hindustani without any further alteration than the loss of inflexion, as *darśan*, *pitā*, *mātā*, *krishṇa*. *Tadbhavas* are words of Sanskrit origin which have undergone some organic change in passing over into Hindī, as *dekh-nā*, *piu*, *māī*, *kishan*, *kānh*. *Deśajas* are words of which no Sanskrit original is traceable, as *pagṛī*, *jhagṛā*, *ḍoṅgā*. Of these classes by far the largest is the

second. The tatsamas are all of late adoption, and either express ideas the necessity of words for which has only recently been felt, or replace tadbhavas which have fallen into disuse. The *deśaja* element is comparatively small, and recent investigation has traced back to Sanskrit through

with tadbhavas to the exclusion of tatsamas, while the proportion of the latter is largest in modern prose works on religion, science, and the like. To the tadbhavas consequently we must look for the history of the language.

But tadbhavas, again, are of different degrees of phonetic modification as compared with Sanskrit. They fall into two classes :—(1) those which agree with the form which the Sanskrit word takes in Prākrit, and (2) those which retain something which Prākrit had rejected. Thus, of the first class we have such words as *rāu* (Pk. *rāā*, Sk. *rājā*), *sab* (Pk. *sabba*, Sk. *sarva*), *kānh* (Pk. *kanho*, Sk. *krishnah*), *mogrā* (Pk. *muggaro*, Sk. *mudgarah*), *nai* (Pk. *naī*, Sk. *nadi*), *nayar*, *ner* (Pk. *naaram*, Sk. *nagaram*); of the second, *rāj* (in Old Hindī for *rājā*), *sarab*, *kishan*, *mugdar*, *nadī*, *nagar*. These are instances in which both forms of the same word are found: but in a larger proportion the modern languages have no form corresponding to the Prākrit, while that which exists has nevertheless dropped or modified something of the Sanskrit; *e.g.*, the Sk. *bhaktah* is in Pk. *bhatto*, but in Hindī *bhagat*; Sk. *śakatah* is Pk. *saadho*, but Hindī *sagad*; Sk. *dharmah* is Pk. *dhammo*, but Hindī *dharam*. We may therefore divide tadbhavas into (1) the *early*, or those which came through Prākrit, and (2) the *late*, or those which came direct from Sanskrit after the Prākrit stage had been passed.

It is obvious that some special cause must have brought about a fresh importation direct from Sanskrit of a stock of words for which Prākrit equivalents had previously been used. Mr Beames[1] suggests with great probability that

[1] *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, vol. i. pp. 14-17.

this importation of late tadbhavas was due to the re-establishment of Brahmanism after the extirpation of the once dominant Buddhism, about the 9th or 10th century of our era, and therefore at the time when the modern Aryan vernaculars were coming into being. Prākrit was the language of Buddhist literature, and would *thus* share the fate of the faith it expressed; the revival of Sanskrit learning which accompanied the re-establishment of the brahmanical creed would lead, as within the last fifty years it has again led, to the use of Sanskrit in preference to Prākrit forms; and finally, the extreme degree to which the rejection of unsupported consonants had been carried in Prākrit, and the consequent confusion in the form of many words, would make welcome a change which effected greater clearness and robustness in speech.

The foreign element is sometimes described as Persian *and* Arabic; but no borrowing direct from the latter language has ever taken place in Hindustani. Of the Arabic words in Indian tongues generally (except possibly in Sindhī) it may be said—"nihil est in Indicâ linguâ quod non prius erat in Persicâ." Such words are pronounced in India with the modifications (if any) already introduced in Persian, *and not as by natives of Arabia*; and where they have acquired a special and non-Arabic sense in the former language, they retain it in Hindustani. Persian was early overrun by Arabic vocables, and Firdausī's great poem was a protest (and an ineffectual one) against a usage already well established rather than a specimen of the language current in his day. These words were carried together with their own speech into India by its conquerors, and soon became naturalized there. No genuine old Hindi literature is free from such importations. They abound in Chand (about 1250 A.D.), the singer of the last stand made by the native princes of the North against the invader. The verses of Kabīr (about 1500) and his followers are even more copiously stocked with them. Tulsī Dās (about 1600), though his theme, having been already treated in the sacred Sanskrit by his predecessor Valmīki, supplied him with fewer occasions for their introduction, uses the

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Persian [illegible]
[illegible]
the same [illegible]
writers, [illegible]
words of common use [illegible]
as in the [illegible]
portation of foreign words [illegible]
[illegible], or the [illegible]
of the people. [illegible]
its rise in the efforts of the [illegible]
the language of his rulers. [illegible]
Khatris employed in the [illegible]
with Persian, not Persians or [illegible]
many centuries used only their own [illegible]
purposes. To these is due the [illegible]
sian character for their vernacular [illegible]
quent preference for words [illegible]
And thus all the non-religious higher [illegible]
all that the rustic speech feels no need of [illegible]
cally now finds its utterance in Persian, in the [illegible]
as French and Latin words are used in English for the same
purpose. Persian is now no foreign idiom in India, and
though its excessive use is [illegible] to great [illegible], it
would be a foolish purism and a political mistake to attempt
(as some have attempted) to eliminate it from the [illegible]
literature of the day. All the sounds of the Persian language are now familiar to the people; the combinations of
consonants common in Sanskrit are beyond their powers of

[1] It is to be noticed that these are not words expressing [illegible] or
rarely mentioned objects, but things of the commonest and most every-day sort; nor are they words for which a vernacular equivalent [illegible]
wanting in Hindi. The inference, therefore, is that they were in constant daily use 600 years ago as they are now.

utterance; English is still more strange to their lips, and assumes in the written character forms which would be unrecognizable to one unacquainted with Indian phonetics.

The Persian of India, from which the Indian vernaculars have been recruited, differs in many respects, both as to sound, idiom, and vocabulary, from that now spoken in Erān. The sounds especially exhibit a more archaic form of the language. Thus the distinction between *ī* and *e* and *ū* and *o*, and the nasal *n*, or *nūn-i ghunnah*, after long vowels, the due observance of which is enjoined by the classical grammarians and essential to the prosody of all classical Persian poetry, have been retained in India, though now altogether absent from the language of Erān.

Hardly any other foreign language besides Persian has contributed to the vocabulary of Hindustani. Turkish words, notwithstanding the nationality of many of the rulers of Dehli, are singularly few; of Pukhto or Afghān there is probably not a single specimen. A small number of Portuguese words have made their way inland from the seaports; and a few English terms are gradually establishing themselves in the mouths of the people.

4. The sounds of Hindustani are essentially those of Sanskrit; some of those found in the latter tongue have, however, disappeared from the former. Thus, among vowels *lṛi*, *lṛī*, and *ṛī* do not exist in the modern tongue, while *ṛi* is undistinguishable from *ri*, with which it is constantly assimilated in writing. *Anuswāra* and *Anunāsika* are generally confounded in writing (the sign of the former being used for both), though not in utterance; the former is rarely met with, being perhaps restricted to a few words where it occurs before *h* and *s* (as सिंह, संहार, pronounced, and often written, *singh*, *sanghār*, वंश, अंश).[1] *Visarga* is inaudible, though counted in prosody. Among the consonants, the cerebral letters ड and ढ have developed sounds of *ṛ* and *ṛh*, which exist side by side with the

[1] When this sign is merely a substitute in writing for a nasal of one of the five organs (as गंगा, पिंजरा, घंटा, दंतान, लंबा) it is not really anuswāra.

original *d* and *dh*, and are indicated by a dot below the letters, thus—ड़ ढ़. Of the nasals, ङ and ञ are generally expressed by anuswāra, and ण is in all tadbhavas represented by न, remaining only in tatsamas, and in them even being hardly distinguished in the popular speech. फ is very generally, though not universally, pronounced as *f*. व stands midway between *v* and *w*, the former sound, or even *b*, being preferred before *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ai*, and the latter before *a*, *ā*, *u*, *ū*, *o*, *au*. In the sibilants there is some confusion; श has been generally appropriated to the sound of *sh* (as in *shall*), while ष is used to represent ख *kh*. The tendency in the vulgar speech is to use स for all the original sibilants of Sanskrit and for the Persian *sh* ش.[1]

In foreign words the vulgar speech replaces the Persian and Arabic consonants by the nearest indigenous equivalents. ث, ص, and س are all rendered by स; ح and ه by ह; ت and ط by त; ز, ذ, ض, and ظ by ज;[2] غ by ग; ق by क and sometimes ख (as वखत for وقت); خ by ख

[1] In this article the usual system of transliteration is followed in the vowels; in the consonants, no distinction has been made between ङ, ञ, and ण, as the first two are never found except in conjunction with the tenuis, medial, or aspirates of their respective *vargas* ष has been [illegible] with the diacritical marks indicating length. In Sanskrit words श is represented by *ś*, in Hindī words by *sh*. ष is in Sanskrit words *sh*; in Hindī it does not occur except with the value *kh*.

[2] There are signs of a tendency in Old Hindī to express foreign *z* by *d*. Thus कागद stands for كاغذ, हादर for حاضر, हदूर for حضور, नदर for نظر, and कादी for قاضي (last four from *Granth*).

and often क (वकस for بخشش). ع when initial is unheard, and when preceded by a vowel lengthens it. Nexus of consonants, when offering any difficulty, is treated as in Sanskrit tadbhavas, by separating the consonants by a short vowel. In Urdū, however, the pronunciation follows that current in Persian, and the proper sounds of ز (ذ, ض, ظ), خ, and غ, and to a less degree those of ق and ع, have become fairly naturalized in Hindostan.

The sounds of short *e* and *o*, common in Prākrit, can hardly be said to exist in Hindustani, except in the dialects; short *e* is heard in Awadhī in a few words, and elsewhere in some diminutives. Almost the only irregularity in the Hindustani vowel-system is the tendency of अ followed by ह to fall into ए; thus रहना, सहना, are almost *rehnā*, *sehnā*; فتح, صبح (with the nexus split by short *a*) are invariably *fate*, *sube*.

A full account of sound changes, as between Sanskrit, Prākrit, and Hindi, would be a complete history of the growth of the forms of the last named language out of its predecessors. For such an account the materials are still far from sufficient. The only systematic treatment of modern Indian sounds in connexion with Prākrit which has yet been attempted is contained in the first volume of Mr Beames's *Comparative Grammar*; and the following summary of the principal facts is almost entirely based on the examples there collected.

A. *Vowel Changes.*

Vowel changes in Hindī are few and of slight importance, except in connexion with change of consonants. In general the Sanskrit vowel is retained both in Prākrit and Hindī, with such modification in its quantity only as is called for by the effect of phonetic laws on the adjacent consonants. Where Prākrit has modified the Sanskrit vowel, the modification generally reappears in Hindī. There is a tendency in the latter language, more especially in the western dialects and the older speech, to substitute *i* for *a* in unaccented syllables; and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, where original and not the result of processes due to Hindī, are regularly replaced by *e* and *o*.[1] The vowel *ri* is treated in two ways in the modern language: it is either dealt with as *ri*, when the *r* if preceded by another consonant is, as usual in such a position, dropped, or, as often happens

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[1] *Ai* is similarly treated in loan-words: Shaikh, Husain, Sulaimān, are in Hindī pronounced Shekh, Husen, Sulemān.

with this letter, is [illegible]
this case frequently [illegible]
The latter change [illegible]
tact with a labial. [illegible]
H. giddh ; Sk. [illegible]
H. bichchhu ; Sk. [illegible]

[illegible]

a for [illegible] Sk. [illegible]
H. sānkhal (Pr. has [illegible]
existed) ; Sk. [illegible]

Elision of initial [illegible]
with the [illegible]
ut, and [illegible]
bhitar ; Sk. [illegible]
H. [illegible]

[illegible]

The most [illegible]

[illegible]

and *a+u*, resulting from *a+y* and *a+v* when the *y* and *v* are vocalized, do not as a rule form, as in Sanskrit, *e* and *o*, but *ai* and *au*: as nayan, nain; samaya, samai; sapatnī, savattī, saut; apara, avara, aur. Where in consequence of the rejection of one of two assimilated consonants in a nexus the preceding vowel is lengthened, the result is often the *guṇa*-form rather than the long simple vowel: *e.g.*, śimbā, H. sem; vilvā, H. bel; kushṭa, H. koṛh; sunṭhi, H. soñṭh; pushkara, H. pohkar, pokhar. Dissimilar vowels sometimes coalesce: as *u+a* into *o* in suvarṇam, suaṇṇam, H. sonā, and the instances soñdhā and Soroñ above cited; *i+a* into *e*, as vyanga, H. beñg; dwyarddham, divaḍḍhe, diaḍḍhe, H. ḍeṛh; vyāpārī, H. bepārī.

B. *Consonantal Changes.*

Changes in consonants differ according as the consonants in question occur singly or as members of a combination. Changes in single consonants are of two kinds: (*a*) those which result from the position of the consonant in the word, whether initial, medial, or final; and (*b*) those which are irrespective of position, and depend on differences in the organ of utterance.

I. *Single Consonants.*—a. *Positional changes.* Initial consonants are generally unchanged, whether in early or late tadbhavas; in a few cases an aspirate has been thrown back from the body of the word to the first letter, as in griha, ghar, duhitā, dhīyā, and there are examples of the reverse process, as bhaginī, bahin (for bhaïn).

Medial consonants are either retained, softened (the tenues to mediæ, the mediæ to semi-vowels and vowels), or disappear altogether. The cases of retention of the unaspirated letters of the five *vargas* are comparatively few, except with the cerebrals, to which the rule as to elision does not apply. च is the letter which most often survives in the modern tongue, though in Prākrit this also goes out; nasals, semi-vowels, sibilants, and *h* are generally retained. Softening is a process of which, more especially with the gutturals, cerebrals, and labials, there are many examples: kāka, kāg; kankāla, kañgāl; paryanka, palañg; kunchikā, kuñjī; kaṭi, kīṛā; karpaṭa, kapṛā; kaṭāha, karāh; vaṭa, baṛ; ghaṭa, ghaṛā. *P* generally passes into *v*, and often thence into *u*: *e.g.*, kapāṭa, kiwāṛ; tripāṭhi, tiwāṛī; sapādika, sawā; tāpa, tāw, tāu; śapatha (Pk. savaho) soñh; kaparddа, kauṛī; sapatnī (Pk. savattī), saut. Examples of the change of *t* to *d* are rare; generally the *d* produced in Prākrit by the softening of *t* fell out before the stage was reached at which the modern language arose: thus in Pālī the 3d. pers. sing. present of verbs ends in *-adi* for the Sk.*-ati*; but in later Pk. this became *aï*, and in Hindī *ai*, *e*.

Elision is in Prākrit the general rule, and Hindī in this particular faithfully follows its parent. In the former language elision occurs with all the unaspirated gutturals, palatals, dentals, and labials, and with य and व (regarded as ज and ब). Several instances in Hindī

have already been given above, and the following may be added.—

Elision of *k*: kokila, kolī; suvarnakāra, sonār; kumbhakāra, kumhār (and so all nouns in -kāra indicating trades and occupations).
" *g*: bhaginī, bahin (for bhaïn); taḍāga (Pk. talāo) talāo.
" *ch*: sūchī, sūī; dwichatwārinsat, beālīs.
" *j*: rājakulah (Pk. rāaülo) rāwal; rājaputrah (Pk. rāaütto) rāwat, rajanī, rain; bīja, bīhan, gajendra, gaind.
" *t*: pitṛi, piu; mātṛi, māī, mā, bhrātṛi, bhāī, bhāū; ghāta, ghāo, Sītā, Sīa.
" *d*: hṛidayam, hiyā, badaram, bair, ber, kadaram (Pk. kaalam), kelā
" *p*: sūpakāra, suār; nāpita, nāī, dīpa, diyā, pipāsa, piās
" *v*: vivāha, biyāh.
" *y*:—Ayodhyā, Awadh (for Aodh), āyah, āū.

The cerebrals are never elided; *p* and *b* are most frequently vocalized; the semi-vowels (except य and व, previously hardened so as to approach ज and ब, and then treated as those letters are), nasals, sibilants, and *h* are also very stable; *r* has dropped out in ke (conjunctive participle) for karī (anciently kai), and paī for parī (Sk. upari). The changes of the aspirated letters of the five *vargas*, which it is difficult to separate into positional and organic, will be noticed further on.

Final consonants do not, properly speaking, exist in Hindī, except in loan words from Persian; in all others the last consonant is considered to have the inherent *a*, which in poetry is commonly pronounced, though in prose it is inaudible; that, however, it was recently heard also in prose appears probable from the protection of the consonant from further change, to which as a final it would according to the general Aryan sound-laws be exposed.

b. Organic change. This operates without regard to position, and occasionally affects initial consonants as well as others. The guttural lenes display no tendency to organic change. There appears to be a tendency for the palatals to modulate into dentals and cerebrals, as H. choṅch and thoṅth from Sk. chanchu; chālīs, iktālīs, teṅtālīs, &c. Between the cerebrals and dentals there is much apparent confusion, and the passage of the latter into the former has been alleged to be the rule in Prākrit, this, however, from considerations adduced by Mr Beames (*Comp. Gr.*, vol. i., pp. 221–3), appears to be too wide a statement, and cases of such passage would seem to be in most instances due to special causes (generally the neighbourhood of *r*). However this may be, when the Prākrit has substituted the cerebral for the Sanskrit dental, the modern tongue generally follows it (as √pat, Pk. √paḍ, H. paṛ-nā). But a large number of words exists in which Sanskrit has the dental and Hindī the cerebral, in which the change is not found in Prākrit; while again a few cases of the reverse change occur both between Hindī and Sanskrit and within Hindī itself. The following are instances:—

Sanskrit dental = Hindī cerebral: √dанś, H. ḍaṅk, ḍaṅs (Pk. daṅs as in Sk.), Sk. dādhikā, H. ḍāṛh, ḍāṛhī, Sk. √dah, H. ḍah and dāh (Pk. ḍah and dah), Sk. dara, H. ḍar; Sk. dik, H. ḍīg; Sk. √dal, H. ḍāl (Pk. ḍal); Sk. tilaka, H. ṭīkā (Pk. ṭilao), Sk. √tan, H. tān, ṭān (Pk. taṇ, tāṇ), Sk. √dul, H. ḍulā, dolā (Pk.

[illegible] Sk. gaṇḍa, H. gā̃ḍ; Sk. daṇḍa, H. ḍanḍ, ḍanḍ, ḍā̃ḍ (Pk. also ḍaṇḍa and [illegible]); Sk. [illegible], H. ḍeṛh (Pk. [illegible]).
[illegible]: Sk. [illegible], H. dah, dāh.

Within Hindi there is a very large number of derivatives from the Sk. √sthā (also sthā), in which the cerebral and dental appear to be indiscriminately used; *e.g.*, with cerebral, thān, thā̃, thā̃w, thaur, thahar, thīk, &c.; with dental, thān, thānā, thal. From Sk. √truṭ we have H. ṭūṭ and toṛ. In the sister languages of Hindi there are many more instances of this interchange, and in Sindhi there is a marked preference for the cerebral where Hindi and the other languages of the group preserve the dental.

D frequently passes into *l*: *e.g.*, Sk. √krīḍ, H. khel, keli; Sk. cheṭa (softened to cheḍa), H. chelā; Sk. √pīḍ, Pk. pīl, H. pel, per: Sk. taḍāga, H. talāo; Sk. shoḍaśa, H. solah: in Sk. √mṛd l. Pk. mal, H. mal, the *d* has first become *ḍ* through the influence of the *r* of ṛi. A further passage of *ḍ* into *ḷ*, and thence from *l* into *r*, is manifest in the numerals—ekādaśa, igārah; dvādaśa, bārah; trayodaśa, terah.

P in Prākrit frequently became *v* even when initial; but few instances, if any, of this change survive in modern Hindi. The archaic vai = Sk. pati is found in Chand (*Revātaṭa*, 19, Gori vai, "lord of the Ghoris;" *ibid.* 25, Dakkhina vai desa, "country of the lord of the South"); but as this occurs only in compounds, it is not strictly an instance of initial *p*. Vekh-nā, from Sk. √preksh, is rather Panjābī than Hindi.

The aspirated letters of the gutturals and dentals, as well as *bh*, regularly when medial, and sometimes even when initial, pass into *h*, losing their characteristic. The following are examples:—

kh: Sk. mukha, H. mũh; Sk. ākheṭa, H. āheṭ.
gh: Sk. ślāghā, H. sarāh; Sk. araghaṭṭa, H. arhaṭ, rahaṭ; Sk. megha, H. meh; Sk. laghu, Old H. lahu.
th: Sk. kapittha, H. kaith; Sk. gāthā, H. gāh; Sk. nātha, H. nāh: Sk. √kath, H. kah; Sk. prathe, H. pah- (in pahilā, "first," probably from Sk. prathama rather than prathama).
dh: Sk. badhira, H. bahirā; Sk. dadhi, H. dahī; Sk. sādhu, H. sāhu; Sk. krodha, H. koh; Sk. badhū, H. bahū.
bh: Sk. gabhīra, H. gahirā; Sk. ābhīra, H. ahir; Sk. lābha, H. lāh; Sk. √subh, H. soh; Sk. √labh, H. lah, le; Sk. √bhū, H. ho; Sk. bhāṇḍa, H. hā̃ḍī; Sk. bhuṇḍa, H. huṇḍī; Sk. prabhu, Old H. pahu.

This change takes place most frequently with *dh* and *bh*; with *kh*, *gh*, and *th* instances of retention are more common; it is rare at the beginning of a word, such instances occurring only with *bh* (as in bhū, bhāṇḍa, and bhuṇḍa above cited) and perhaps with *dh* (Sk. dherah = Nepālī heru; Sk. dhārakah = Hindi hārā; but these strictly speaking occur only in compounds). *Th* in some words where it is a secondary development is perhaps represented by initial h; as ho in Braj (= High Hindi thā), for thau (from sthitah): hā̃ (in mere hā̃, uske hā̃) from sthāne.

No instances of change in *chh* or *jh* have been found. *Ṭh* often passes into its media *ḍh*, as pīṭha, pīḍhā, √paṭh, paṛh (and in secondary formations like kushṭha, kuṭṭho, [kūṭh] koṛh, as will

found in the mo

chālis. L also

for lon (Sk. lava

modern instances are the common word lambardār for number

Similarly, v when initial regularly becomes b, and ... vowels into a diphthong

manne

nasaliz

and th

Sk. ... H. āṅwlā; Sk. nāma, H. nāṅw, Sk. grāma, H. gāṅw; Sk. śyāmala, H. sāṅwlā; Sk. kumāra, H. kuṅwar; Sk. kamala, H. kaṅwal; Sk. pādam

A

S

... chamara, H. chaurī, Sk. bāmana, H. ... H. dewan,

In some words, again

Sk. swā

gohūṅ, ge

This pro

It has al

the dental

the lead of Prakrit. There is also ... this particular it follows by h. Thus kesarī becomes kehari, pāshāṇa, pāhāṇ, and saptati

throughout, when combined with other numerals, hattar (ik-hattar, ba-hattar, &c.); daśan similarly throughout its compounds changes its *ś* to *h*, as in Prākrit (igārah, bārah, terah, chaudah, &c.). This tendency is somewhat sparingly exhibited in Hindī; it is strongest in the western dialects bordering in Panjābī, in which language it is the rule. There are, however, several inflexional and conjugational forms common to all dialects of Hindī (especially in the oblique cases of nouns in *-ā*, in the substantive verb, and in the archaic future) which are most probably to be explained by this change, which has already set in in Prākrit. Two other changes, of limited application, must also be noticed. The first is of the sibilants into the palatals, as Sk. shash, H. chha; Sk. shashtha, H. chhatthā; Sk. shatānka, H. chhatāṅk; Sk. śāvaka, H. chhok-ṛā. In all these instances the modern dialects follow the lead of Prākrit; one prominent instance of the change in the latter language, that of *√sthā into √chitth*, has, however, no representative in Hindī. In Mārwāṛī and the Himālayan dialects, on the other hand, *ch* and *chh* frequently become *s*. The second is of ष into *kh*, which is the power generally given to this letter in late tadbhavas and tatsamas; thus Sk. bhāshā is pronounced bhākhā, Bhīshma, Bhīkham, visha, bikh, mesha, mekh, harsha, harakh, and from varsha we have both barakhnā and barasnā. Of this change Prākrit examples are wanting.

H is a stable letter in the modern tongue, and suffers no organic change.

II. *Changes of Conjunct Consonants.*—Prākrit, as a rule, suffered no dissimilar conjuncts, and in all early tadbhavas the modern languages follow its lead, though in late tadbhavas stronger principles of articulation are found. The changes which take place depend on the relative strength of the letters making up the nexus, which may with reference thereto be classified into *strong* and *weak*. The strong letters are the first four of each of the five organs, viz., क,ख,ग,घ : च,छ,ज,झ : ट,ठ,ड,ढ : त,थ,द,ध : प,फ,ब,भ. The weak letters are the nasals, semi-vowels, sibilants, and *h*, which exhibit relatively one to another different degrees of strength, but are all inferior to the strong letters. These letters may combine in the following ways:—

1. The strong nexus, formed of strong letters only;
2. The mixed nexus, formed of strong and weak letters;
3. The weak nexus, formed of weak letters only.

The immense majority of conjuncts in Sanskrit are of two consonants only; groups of three or even of four consonants occur, but rarely, and chiefly in compound or derivative words (*e.g.* tatsthāne, matsya, Lakshmaṇa); these, which almost always include a weak letter or letters, present no striking peculiarities. The weakest letter falls out, and the resulting stronger letters combine as in a conjunct of two elements. It will suffice, therefore, to confine our attention here to conjuncts consisting of two dissimilar consonants only.

letter, it is changed to anuswāra in Prākrit, without, and to anunāsika in the modern language, generally with, compensatory lengthening of the vowel.[1]

(3) In the weak nexus three processes take place —

(α) When the two letters are of unequal strength, the weaker is assimilated, as in the mixed nexus;

(β) When they are of equal or nearly equal strength, they are divided one from the other by the insertion of a vowel; or

(γ) They are combined into a third and different consonant.

1. The following are examples of the *strong nexus* :—

Sanskrit	*Prakrit.*	*Hindī.*
khadgah	khaggo	khāg, Old H khagga (also a late tadbhava, kharag)
mudgah	muggo	mūṅg
dugdhah	duddho	dūdh
mudgarah	muggaro	mogrā and mūgrā
Kanyakubja	Kannaujja	Kanauj, Old H. Kanavajja
sabdah	saddo	sād (Old H), sadda (Chand)
bhaktam	bhattam	bhāt
raktah	ratto	rattā (Old H.), rātā
√udgār	√uggāl	ugāl nā
√udgam	√uggav	ug nā
√ujjwal	√ubbal	ubal-nā
√udbhār	√ubbhār	ubhār-nā

The last four words supply examples of the sub-rule (β); a large number of such instances are to be found in the numerals among the derivatives of saptan, "seven."

krit are far more frequent; and in Panjābī and Sindhī the lengthened vowel is still of rare occurrence, the Prākrit form being retained. It is to be observed that the augmented vowel, being in compensation for the loss of one of two similar consonants, occurs equally in cases where the doubled consonant is original in Sanskrit, and is not the result of assimilation in Prākrit. Thus pippala is in the modern language pīpal, bhalluka bhālū, lattā lāt, lajjā lāj, &c.

2. The *mixed nexus* is more complicated in its phenomena :—*a*, nasals in a mixed nexus ; *b*, sibilants in a mixed nexus ; and *c*, semivowels in a mixed nexus.

a. *Nasals in a Mixed Nexus.*—The nasal may either precede or follow. In the first case it drops out, anunāsika is inserted, and the vowel generally lengthened in compensation for the lost consonant. Examples :—

Sk. janghā, Pk. id., H. jāñgh ; Sk. chanchu, H, choñch ; Sk. kantakah, Pk. kantao, H. kāñtā ; Sk. sunthi, H. soñth ; Sk. randā, H. rāñd, rāñr ; Sk. shandah, H. sāñd, sāñr ; Sk. chandrah, Pk. chando, H. chāñd ; Sk. √kamp, Pk. kamp, H. kāñp-nā. The lengthening of the vowel shews that the original nasal has been lost and compensation is necessary ; and the anunāsika which marks its place is a totally different sound from the nasals of full contact for which it is substituted. Apparent exceptions are—Sk. jambu, H. jāmūñ ; Sk. nimbā, H. nīm ; Sk. śimbā, H. sem, where the *m* would seem to have prevailed over the stronger *b*. But it seems probable that in reality the strong letter has first absorbed the nasal (as shewn by the Gujarātī jāñbu, Marāthī jāñb), and has then been softened by the influence of the lost anunāsika into *m*.

When the nasal follows, it is assimilated to the stronger letter in Prākrit, and one of the pair is elided in Hindī, generally with compensatory lengthening of the vowel : *e.g.*, Sk. agni, Pk. aggi, H. āg ; Sk. lagnah, Pk. laggo, H. lagā, lāgā ; Sk. nagnah, Pk. naggo, Old H. (Chand) naggā, Mod. H. with inorganic anunāsika nañgā. There is one combination with a following nasal which is treated in a peculiar manner: this is *jñ* ज्ञ. This conjunct, when it occurs in tatsamas and late tadbhavas, is pronounced, and sometimes written, *gy*. Thus आज्ञा is āgyā, ज्ञान, gyān ; राज्ञी in Old Hindī is रागिनी rāginī, and by an analogous process यज्ञ is जाग. On the other hand, the root jñān in other derivatives becomes yān, as siyānā, ayān. In the modern language *jñ* is in two words represented by *n*, viz., rānī for rājñī, and janeo for yajñopavīta (through Pk. jannoaīo, jannoio). Lastly, in yajña and its compounds the general rule is sometimes followed, and *j* alone survives; as in Old Hindī jaj, and the common word jajmān (yajñamāna).

b. *Sibilants in a Mixed Nexus.*—When the sibilant precedes the

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jibbhā for jihvā ; īsaro as well as issaro for īśwarah ; rātī, rādī, and rāī as well as rattī for rātrī. The first of these is important as supplying a means of explaining the oblique bases of Hindī nouns in -*ā*, and of several pronouns.

[illegible] (but more commonly kāndhā). Sk pushkaram, Pk. pŏkkharam, H. pokhar, Sk sushkah, Pk sokkho, sukkho, H. sūkhā.

With Palatal. [illegible]

With Labial Sk. √sparś, Pk. phans, H. phans-na; Sk. pushpam, Pk. puppham, H puhup, phup (for puph); Sk. vāshpah. [illegible]

[illegible] Thus sthagah becomes thag, and asthi, Pk atthi, has, by the throwing back of the aspirate and the softening of t into d, become haddi [illegible] secondary th resultin[illegible] the last instance, be[illegible] Sk. kushtha. H. kor[illegible]

Dental with Sibilant: Sk. vatsah, Ph. vachchho, H. bachchhā, bachhrū; Sk. matsyah, Pk. machchho, H. machh, machchhī.

But although the result above shown from *k+sh* is common and regular, it is not the most usual transformation. This combination is more often changed into *kkh* and *kh*, and this in words where in Prākrit the other change (into *chchh*) had occurred. Thus:—

Sk. akshi, Pk. achchhī, is H. āṅkh; Sk. kshīram, Pk. chhīram, H. khīr; Sk. ikshu, Pk. uchchhū, H. īkh, ūkh; Sk. kshāram, Pk. chhāram, H. khār; Sk. makshikā, Pk. machchhiā, H. makkhī, mākhī (but also a diminutive, machchhar); Sk. kshetram, Pk. chhettam, H. khet, kheṛā; Sk. dakshiṇah, Pk. dakkhiṇo. H. dakkhin (also dahinā); Sk. pakshah, Pk. pakkho, H. pakh; Sk. drākshā, Pk. dakkhā, H. dākh.

This development is interesting, as showing that the modern languages do not invariably follow the lead of literary Prākrit, though they use Prākrit processes. It would seem that of the two results the one less used in Hindī (*ksh=chchh*) is the older, as exhibited in Prākrit and in several archaic dialects of Hindī where we now have *kkh*, and as more agreeable to analogy; while the change into *kkh* grew out of an inversion of which we have traces in Māgadhī Prākrit, whereby the sibilant was placed before instead of after the *k*; the combination *sk* would, as already shown, migrate into *kh*. It is also probable that the pronunciation of *kh* given to ष, which was in common use at the time when the late tadbhavas (to which class many of the words having *ksh=kkh* belong) were being formed, contributed to the greater prevalence in Hindī of the equivalent less used in Prākrit.

c. *The Semi-vowels in a Mixed Nexus.*—The phenomena in this combination are also of a somewhat complicated order, and it will be convenient to take first the cases in which the general rule is followed, and afterwards the apparent exceptions. Of the semi-vowels only *r* and *l* can precede a strong letter; and when that letter is a guttural, palatal, or labial, the general rule is followed with *r*, and in all cases with *l*. Examples:—

Of r *preceding*: Sk. karkatah, Pk. kakkaḍo, H. keṅkṛā; Sk. karkatikā, Pk. kakkaḍiā, H. kakṛī; Sk. mārgah, Pk. maggo, H. māṅg (Old H. magga); Sk. archi, H. āṅch; Sk. kharjūram, Pk. khajjūram, H. khajūr; Sk. mahārgah, Pk. mahaggo, H. mahaṅgā; Sk. karpatah, Pk. kappaḍo, H. kapṛā; Sk. karpāsam, Pk. kappāsam, H. kapāś; Sk. sarpah, Pk. sappo, H. sāṁp; Sk. samarpaṇam, Pk. samappaṇam, H. samappa-nauṅ, soṁp-nā; Sk. garbham, Pk. gabbham, H. gābh; Sk. garbhinī, Pk. gabbhinī, H. gābhin; Sk. durbalah, Pk. dubbalo, H. dublā.

Of l *preceding*: Sk. valgā, Pk. vaggā, H. bāg; Sk. phālgunam, Pk. phaggunam, H. phāgun; Sk. phālgu, Pk. phaggū, H. phāg; Sk. √jalp, Pk. japp, H. jap-nā.

When the succeeding letter is a dental, the process above indicated takes place with *r in a large number of instances*:—

Sk. varttikā, Pk. battiā, H. battī; Sk. vārttā, Pk. vattā, Old H.

batta, Mod. H. bāt; Sk. karttari, Pk. kattari, H. katarnī; Sk. kārttikam, Pk. kattikam, H. kātik; Sk. √kūrd, Pk. √kudd, H. kūd-nā; Sk. chaturdaśan, Pk. chauddaha, H. chaudah.

But in the majority of cases in Prākrit a preceding *r* with a dental translates the latter into a cerebral, and this change is also [illegible] in Hindī:—

[illegible]

forward on the dental)

r+th: Sk. chaturthah, Pk. chauttho, H. chauthā (in the dialects usually chauthī).

r+d: Sk. kaparddah, Pk. kavaḍḍo, H. kaurī; Sk. √tard, Pk. taḍḍ, H. tār.

r+dh: Sk. vardhakī, Pk. vaḍḍhaī, H. baṛhaī; Sk. vṛiddhaḥ (*ṛ* thrown forward), Pk. vuḍḍho, H. buḍḍhā, būṛhā; Sk. vardhanam, Pk. vaḍḍhe, H. sāṛhe.

To this list must be added instances in which the *r* of *prati* has been thrown forward to the *t*, making *parti*, which regularly appears in Prākrit as *paḍi*; in Hindī the *ḍ* (*ṛ*) is either retained or softened into *r*, e.g.—

Sk. prativāsī, Pk. paḍivāsī, H. parosī; Sk. pratichchhāyā, Pk. paḍichhāā, H. parchhāīṅ

[illegible]

gis, paryanā, parnālā

With dentals *r* as a last member likewise falls out, and frequently without effect on the organ of its companion:—

Sk. kshetram, H. khet; Sk. gotram, Pk. gottam, H. got; Sk. mitrah, Pk. mitto, H. mīt; Sk. gṛidhrah, Pk. giddho, H. giddh, gidh; Sk. rātri, Pk. ratti, H. rat; Sk. putrah, Pk. putto, H. pūt, put; Sk. sūtram, Pk. suttam, H. sūt; Sk. dadru, Pk. daddu, H. dād; Sk. chandrah, Pk. chando, H. chānd; Sk. nidrā, Pk. niddā, H. nīnd.

The change of the dental to a cerebral in such cases is not uncommon:—

[illegible]

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Of r *preceding*: Sk. karkatah, Pk. kakkaḍo, H. keṅkṛā; Sk. karkatikā, Pk. kakkaḍiā, H. kakṛī; Sk. mārgah, Pk. maggo, H. māṅg (Old H. magga); Sk. archi, H. āṅch; Sk. kharjūram, Pk. khajjūram, H. khajūr; Sk. mahārgah, Pk. mahaggo, H. mahaṅgā; Sk. karpaṭah, Pk. kappaḍo, H. kapṛā; Sk. karpāsam, Pk. kappāsam, H. kapās; Sk. sarpah, Pk. sappo, H. sāṅp; Sk. samarpaṇam, Pk. samappaṇam, H. samappa-nauṅ, sauṅp-nā; Sk. garbham, Pk. gabbham, H. gābh; Sk. garbhinī, Pk. gabbhinī, H. gābhin; Sk. durbalah, Pk. dubbalo, H. dublā.

Of l *preceding*: Sk. valgā, Pk. vaggā, H. bāg; Sk. phālgunam, Pk. phaggunam, H. phāgun; Sk. phālgu, Pk. phaggū, H. phāg; Sk. √jalp, Pk. japp, H. jap-nā.

When the succeeding letter is a dental, the process above indicated takes place with *r* in a large number of instances:—

Sk. varttikā, Pk. battiā, H. battī; Sk. vārttā, Pk. vattā, Old H.

batta, Mod H. bāt, Sk. karttari. Pk. kattari, H katar-nī; Sk kārttikam, Pk. kattikam, H. kātik; Sk. √kūrd, Pk. √kudd, H kūd-nā, Sk. chaturdaśan, Pk. chauddaha, H. chaudah.

But in the majority of cases in Prākrit a preceding r with a

r+dh. Sk. vardhaki, Pk. vaddhai, H. barhai, Sk. vriddhah (r thrown forward), Pk. vuddho, H. buḍḍhā, būṛhā, Sk. sārdham, Pk. saḍḍhe, H sāṛhe.

To this list must be added instances in which the r of prati has been thrown forward to the t, making parti, which regularly appears in Prākrit as paḍi; in Hindi the ḍ(ṛ) is either retained or softened into r, e.g.—

Sk. prativāsī, Pk. paḍivāsī, H. parosī; Sk. pratichhāyā, Pk. paḍichhāī, H parchhāīṅ.

bhramaram, Pk. bhamaram, H. bhaṅwar

In later tadbhavas the r is frequently separated from its companion and thrown forward on the next consonant; thus Sk. prasāda, pratāpa, prakāśa, pragana, pranāli become H. parsād, partāb, pargās, parganā, parnālā.

With dentals r as a last member likewise falls out, and frequently without effect on the organ of its companion.—

Sk. kshetram H

mitrah, Pk.

gṛdh, Sk. rā

put; Sk. sūt

dād; Sk. ch

H. niād.

The change of the dental to a cerebral in such cases is not uncommon.—

Sk. chitrah, Pk. chitto, H. chiṭṭ (but chitrakah, chittao, chītā); Sk. patram, Pk. pattam, H. pāṭ; Sk. grantri, H. gaṭhi, girī; Sk. √trut, H. ṭūṭ; Sk. kshudrah, Pk. chhuddao, H. chhoṭā.

L following is sometimes elided, as in Sk. śukla, H. suk; but more often, both in Prākrit and Hindi, it is separated from its com-

junct by an interposed vowel; *e.g.*, Sk. plīhā, H. pilhā; Sk. kleśah, Pk. kileso, H. kales; Sk. śukla, H. sukul.

Y and *v* only occur as following members, and in the immense majority of instances in combination with a dental. With letters of other organs they commonly fall out, according to rule, as: Sk. yogyah, Pk. jŏggo, H. jog; Sk. √chyū, Pk. chū, H. chū; Sk. jyoti, H. jot; Sk. pakwah, Pk. pikko, H. pakkā. In a few instances even with dentals they fall out or are vocalized, as Sk. tyāga, H. tiāg; Sk. twaritam, H. turañt, turt; Sk. Prithwīrāja, H. Pithorā; Sk. dwīpa, H. dīp; Sk. dwi, Pk. due, do, H. do. But with dentals generally they are raised to their higher forms of palatal and labial, and as such form a strong nexus with their companion, by which, however, they are so affected that they pass into its grade. Examples:—

T+y = ch: Sk. satyah, Pk. sachcho, H. sach, sāñch; Sk. nṛityati, Pk. nachchaï, H. nāche; Sk. mṛityu, Pk. michcha, H. mīch.

Th+y = chh: Sk. mithyā, Pk. michchhā, H. michhā.

D+y = j: Sk. adya, Pk. ajja, H. āj; Sk. vidyut, Pk. vijjulī, H. bijlī; Sk. dyūtam, Pk. jūdam, jūam, H. jūā.

Dh+y = jh: Sk. madhye, Pk. majjhe, H. majhi, māñjh; Sk. bandhyā, Pk. bañjjhā, H. bāñjh; Sk. upādhyāyah, Pk. uajjhāo, H. ojhā; Sk. sandhyā, Pk. sañjhā, H. sāñjh.

Of *v* changed to *b* the most numerous set of instances occurs in the numerals, where *dw* regularly becomes *b*, *e.g.*, dwādaśan, bārah; dwāviñśati, bāïs; dwitīya, bīyā (in Chand; more commonly dūij, dūj); so also Sk. dwārah, H. bār. In combination with *t* the process has, in analogy with the changes of *y* with tenues, resulted in raising the grade of the *b* to *p*; the most common examples of this change are the reflexive pronoun āp (anciently āpu, appu) and the suffixes pan, pā, panā. The first is from Sk. ātman, Pk. appā, where the *m* has first changed into *v*, making ātvā; the second is most probably from the Sk. termination twam, twan; thus vṛiddhatwam = būṛhāpā, through buddhappam. Sk. tattwa, however, appears in Old Hindī as tata, tatta. In one combination with *j*, the root √jwal, both the regular process and that usual with *d* are in force, the root becoming in Hindī both jal and bal.

3. *The Weak Nexus.*—The phenomena of this form of conjunct are complicated by the fact that among the weak letters some are stronger than others; the general rule is that the weaker yields to the stronger, as in the mixed nexus.

Nasal with Nasal.—The only forms of this in Sk. are *mn* and *nm*; the first yields no instances in Hindī; of the second Sk. janma, sanmukham, are examples, becoming in Pk. jammo, sammuham; the first word is in Hindī always a late tadbhava, janam; the second yields sāmh-nā, sāmh-īā.

Nasal with Semi-vowel.—In this combination the nasal generally prevails. Examples of a preceding nasal are: Sk. araṇyam, Pk. raṇṇam, H. ran; Sk. āraṇyakah, Pk. āraṇṇao, H. arnā; Sk. anya, H. ān, Old H. ani; Sk. śūnyah, Pk. suṇṇo, H. sūn, sūnā; Sk.

dhānyam, H dhān; Sk. agamyah, Pk. agammo, H. agam (Old H. agammu); Sk. tanwinī, H tannini (in Chand) Combinations with *l* are rare, in Sk. amlikā, H imlī, both members survive.

[illegible]

[illegible] (by a vowel-change similar to that in chanchu=choñch; Sk. śmaśānam, Pk. masāṇam, H masān; Sk. snushā, H. nūh; (3) splitting of the nexus occurs—Sk. snehah, H. saneh; Sk smaranam, H sumiran, samaran, and (4) in the following words the sibilant survives and the nasal is lost—Sk smriti, H. surat (where the *u* is due to the lost nasal); Sk. raśmi, H [illegible]

[illegible]

ge[illegible] stronger element, the *y* prevailing only where it passes into j—Sk. chauryam, Pk. chorium, H chorī; Sk. sūryyah, Pk. sūro and sujjo, H. sūr and (late tadbh.), sūraj; Sk. tūryyam, Pk. tūram, H. turī; Sk. kāryyam, Pk. kajjam, H. kāj; Sk pūryate, Pk. pujjaï, H pūj-e; Sk. āścharyyam, Pk. achchheram H āchijja [illegible]

[illegible] a singu- [illegible] palang; [illegible] e *v* gene-rally becomes *b*, and as a strong letter assimilates the *r*;—Sk. sarvah, Pk. sabbo, H sab; Sk pūrvah, Pk. pubbo, Old H. pubba; Sk. apūrvah Pk [illegible] Sk. √charv, Pk. chabb, [illegible]s is always treated by [illegible]k pabbo), pūrab In the [illegible]lam, H kāl, kal, kālh, [illegible] maulyam, Pk mollam, [illegible] also the *l* is the stronger; perhaps the only example is Sk. vilvā, Pk. villī, H bel In *vy* the *v* becomes *b*, and the *y* is absorbed, or remains only as a vowel; Sk. √vyanś, H. bāchh-nā; Sk. vyāghrah, H. bāgh, Sk vyatīta, H bīt-na, Sk vyangah H. beñg (=bañg) *Vr* is treated as *br*, and the *r* is absorbed, or else the nexus is split; *r* in this nexus is usually vocalized in Sk., so that most examples are of *vri*—Sk. vrikah, H. bik, Sk vriddhah, H buddhā; Sk vrinda, H. bindā; Sk. vriśchikah, H. bich-chhū; Sk. vrata, H. barat; Sk vrāta, H barāt; Sk. vraja, H.

baraj, birj (the last three words are late tadbhavas); Sk. vṛikshah, by a curious change, becomes Pk. rukkho, H. rūkh.

Semi-vowel with Sibilant.—The only semi-vowel which is found preceding a sibilant is *r* in the combinations *rsh* and *rś*. In these (1) the sibilant absorbs the semi-vowel; or (2) the nexus is split; or (3) a third dissimilar consonant results. Of the first process the following are examples: Sk. śīrshah, Pk. sisso, H. sīs; Sk. pārśwe, H. pās; Sk. √sparś, Pk. phaṇs, H. phas-nā, phañsnā; Sk. √nishkarsh (kṛish), H. nikāsnā. Of the second: Sk. varshah, Pk. bariso, H. barasnā, barsāt; Sk. sarshapam, H. sarasoñ. Of the third: Sk. √karsh (kṛish), Pk. kaḍḍh, H. kāṛhnā; Sk. √nish-karsh, Pālī nikkaḍḍh, Pk. nikkāl, H. nikāl.

The sibilant may be followed by all the semi-vowels, and in all cases proves the stronger. A following *y* is absorbed in—Sk. śyāmah, H. sām, shām; Sk. śyāmalah, H. sāñwlā; Sk. śyālah, H. sālā; Sk. avaśyāyam, H. os; Sk. pushyam, H. pūs; Sk. kaṇsyah, H. kāñsā. A following *r* is absorbed—Sk. śrī, H. sī; Sk. śrāvaṇam, H. sāwan; Sk. śriṇoti, Pk. suṇaï, H. sun-e; Sk. aśru, Pk. aṇsū, H. āñsū; Sk. śwaśru, Pk. sassū, H. sās. Late tadbhavas, however, split the nexus—Sk. śrī, H. sirī; Sk. āśrayam. H. āsarā; Sk. miśrah, H. misar; Sk. śrāvakah, H. sarāogī. A following *l* is rare; in Sk. ślāghā, H. sarāh, the nexus is split. A following *v* disappears—Sk. śwaśurah, H. sasur; Sk. śwaśru, H. sās; Sk. īśwarah, Pk. issaro, H. īsar; Sk. swāmī, H. sāīñ; Sk. swaka, H. sagā: in Sk. √swap, Pālī sup, Pk. suv, H. so, and Sk. swarga, H. surag, the vowel following the *s* is due to elided *v*.

H in Sk. sometimes precedes the nasals *n* and *m*. In these cases Prākrit transposes the two, and the modern languages follow its lead—Sk. chihnah, Pk. chinho, chindho, H. chinh, chinhā; Sk. brāhmaṇah, Pk. bamhaṇo, H. bāmhan: Sk. Brahma, H. bamh, bambh, and bam.[1] Combinations of *h* with other letters are rare in old tadbhava words; it is found with following *r* under the form *ṛi* in hṛidaya and its derivatives, which in Hindī appear either as hiyā, hiya, &c., with loss of *r*, or as rid, ridā, with loss of *h*. Followed by *y* and *v*, those semi-vowels are strengthened to *j* and *v*, which *h* then aspirates. Cases of the nexus *hy* do not perhaps occur in Hindī;[2] but in the cognate Panjābī we have—Sk. guhyah, Pk. gujjho, Panj. gujjhā; Sk. vāhyakah, Pk. vajjhao, Panj. bājh, bājhoñ. Instances of *hv* are—Sk. jihvā, Pk. jibbhā, jihā, H. jībh; Sk. vihvalah, Pk. vebbhalo, H. bihbal (late tadbh.).

5. *Grammar.*—In the following paragraphs we propose, in illustration of the historic development of Hindustani out of its predecessors, to examine in the first place the inflexion of the noun (including the adjective, and inci-

[1] Used as an exclamation in praise of Mahādeva, who is thereby identified with Brahma. See Kabīr in Trumpp's *Ādi Granth*, p. 684.

[2] It is probably in this combination that we must seek the origin of the pronominal forms, mujh, tujh. from genitives which would originally be musya, tusya, and then muhya, tuhya.

dentally the pronoun [illegible] of the verb.

While Prākrit carries [illegible] especially in the pronouns [illegible] Hindustani, on the other hand [illegible] guage. Traces of [illegible] declension by particles [illegible] the tenses of the verb [illegible] structed by the help of [illegible] which are the direct [illegible] As we go back in the history of [illegible] tend our view to the [illegible] guages, the area of the [illegible] system widens; in the [illegible] much that was preserved [illegible] still survives, and the [illegible] yet come into general use. [illegible] countenance to the theory [illegible] lects owe the greater part of [illegible] to non-Aryan influence. [illegible] on their vocabulary (in the [illegible] words) has been found [illegible] the modern languages [illegible] gated, to be much less [illegible] their grammar [illegible] to assume the existence of [illegible] yielded by Sanskrit and [illegible]

The Noun.—The modern [illegible] and feminine, the Sanskrit [illegible] ported in the former. [illegible] are found in the Hindi [illegible] nāsika, the [illegible] the neuter [illegible] tinguished from the [illegible] Marāṭhi and Gujarāti [illegible] in Bengali and [illegible] feminine has disappeared [illegible] rally with that in Sanskrit [illegible] respect of gender in Hindustani [illegible] from Persian. In [illegible] Persian nouns [illegible] masculine and feminine [illegible] determined [illegible]

in *-ah* (whether of Aryan or Semitic origin) become masculine in Hindustani, on the analogy of the masculine termination *-ā*; on the other hand, nouns (generally Arabic) in *-at* are with one or two exceptions all feminine, probably on the analogy of the Aryan feminines in *-ati*, modern *-at*. Nouns of which the gender is not determined by termination seem to be classed according to analogy of idea with vernacular nouns.

The distinction between early tadbhava nouns on the one hand and late tadbhavas and tatsamas on the other is maintained in Hindustani in respect of form; the one class agrees with Prākrit, the other with Sanskrit. This distinction is important in reference to declension; for, as will hereafter be seen, it is only in the first class that we now find traces of the original synthetic inflexion system; the latter class, assuming in Hindī generally the form which they bear in the Sanskrit nominative (with the loss of visarga, anuswāra, and final short vowels, if any), are unchanged in the singular throughout the cases.

Modern nouns, whether old or late tadbhavas, end either in a consonant or a long vowel; no genuine tadbhava is found in Hindī in the present day with a short vowel ending, words so terminated being all tatsamas or late importations from Sanskrit. But the consonantal ending does not exhibit the form in which the first class originally came into Hindī; in poetry the inherent *-a*, no longer heard in prose, is still pronounced, so that all modern consonantally ending nouns appear in the former as terminating in short *-a*. This short *-a* is the remnant, in the case of most masculines representing original Prākrit masculines, of an older *-u*; in that of masculines representing Prākrit neuters, of an older *-am* (with anuswāra); in that of feminines, of an older *-i*, *-u*, or an original Prākrit *-ā*. The neuter gender had almost disappeared from Hindī at the date of our earliest extant specimens, and thus we find original neuters in *-am* having the old masculine termination *-u*, either by transfer from proper masculines, or produced by solution of the anuswāra into a labial vowel and anunāsika. These terminations are the result of the application to the Prākrit endings of the law, universal as between that language and Old Hindī, that a long final vowel in Prākrit is shortened in the latter speech. There is no such thing as a consonantally ending noun in Prākrit; even those bases which in Sanskrit ended in consonants (as *-at*, *it*, &c.) assume in Prākrit a vowel (as *anto*, *itā*), or drop the consonant so as to lay bare the preceding vowel; and all final vowels in Prākrit are in the nominative case of nouns long. These long vowels were shortened in Old Hindī to their inherent or related simple vowels; and in the modern tongue the short vowel is dropped, its place being taken in poetry, and at an immediate stage in prose, by short *a*, which thus does duty for all the original short vowels. Thus the Old Hindī *-u*, later *-a*, and present consonantal ending of masculines, represents an original Prakrit *-o* or *-am*; Old Hindī *-i*, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākrit *-ī*; Old Hindī *-u*, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākrit *ū*;

Old Hindī -*a*, present consonantal ending of feminines, represents an original Prākrit -*ā*.

The old tadbhavas which terminate in a vowel (necessarily long in present Hindī, since short final vowels have ceased to be

-*ikah*, fem. -*ikā*, neut. -*ikam*; in *u*-stems, masc -*ukah*, fem. *ukā*, neut -*ukam*. In Prākrit these terminations yield respectively -*ao*, -*iā*, -*aam*, -*io*, -*iā*, -*iam*; and -*uo*, -*uā*, -*uam*. According to the

[illegible] dropped. Examples —

Sansk	Sansk	Prāk	Old Hindī	Mod Hindī
-*akaḥ* (masc.)	kanṭakaḥ	kanṭao	kāṅṭau	kāṅṭā
	ghoṭakaḥ	ghoḍao	ghoṛau	ghoṛā
	chitrakaḥ	chittao	chītau	chī ā
	mastakaḥ	matthao	māthau	māthā
-*akam* (neut.)	[suvarṇakam]	suannaam	sonauṅ	sonā
-*ikaḥ* (masc.)	vṛischikaḥ	vichchhio	bichchhī	bichchhī[1]
-*ikā* (fem.)	makshikā	makkhiā machchhiā	mākhī makkhī	makkhī
	mṛittikā	mittiā	miṭṭī	miṭṭī
	karkaṭikā	kakkaḍiā	kakkaṛī	kakkaṛī, kakṛī
	kunchikā	kunjiā	kuṅjī	kuṅjī
-*ikam* (neut.)	mauktikam	mottiam	motiṅ	motī
-*ukaḥ* (masc.)	bhallukaḥ	bhalluo	bhālū	bhālū
-*ukā* (fem.)	bālukā	bāluā	bālū	bālū
-*ukam* (neut.)	[aśrukam]	anṣuam assuam	āṅsūṅ	āṅsū

[1] Nepālī form. In High H it is bichchhū from a by-form in Sk. vṛiśchukaḥ.

The above, except suvarṇakam and aśrukam, are all cases in which the *k*-augment is represented in Sanskrit; but, as already stated, its use in Prākrit was by no means confined to words in which it existed in Sanskrit: it was added, it would seem indifferently, to all nouns, substantive and adjective; and, reasoning from the forms taken in Hindī by Prākrit nouns in which it was certainly used, as proved by the (as yet far from thoroughly explored) extant specimens of Prākrit literature, we are justified in assuming that there existed a Prākrit original having this augment wherever we find Hindī nouns having those forms. Moreover, in Old Hindī, and even in a few words in the modern language, relics have survived of the process whereby *ikā* became *ī*, *ukā*, *ū*, &c. Thus we have feminines in *-iyā*, that termination being as a rule attributed to masculines (*e.g.*, būṛhiyā, kuttiyā, guṛiyā, ḍibiyā, chiṛiyā); this seems to result from arrest of the development at the Prākrit stage, when *-ikā* had become *-iā*. So we have also, from a presumable *ukaḥ*, bhaḍuā (bhaṭukaḥ), machhuā, pahruā, side by side with forms in *-ū* only; these are probably similar arrested developments. In poetry, more especially in the older specimens, any noun ending in *ī* or *ū* may assume the forms *-iya* and *uwa* when the metre requires it, which are exactly the intermediate forms between the Sanskrit *ikā*, *ukā* and the modern *ī*, *ū*, which analogy leads us to expect.

The foregoing rules will be found to account for all tadbhava nouns, substantive and adjective, in Hindī; that is, all such nouns of which there are representatives in Sanskrit and Prākrit. In the class of deśaja words there are similar developments; such words [illegible] w in number, and their terminations have [illegible]: upon the analogy of the much more numerous class which have come through Prākrit. With deśaja words, however, must be classed nouns formed by means of a great variety of terminations in Hindī representing various modifications and extensions of the root-idea; as diminutives, abstract nouns, nouns of agency, and the like. It is not necessary to suppose, although the roots of such derivative words may occur in Sanskrit and Prākrit, that their modern forms came into Hindī through these languages; it is sufficient that a system of formation and inflexion was once established in the case of true tadbhavas; having been established, it naturally extended itself by analogy to all other words, whether these were part of the original old stock or later developments.

Late tadbhava and tatsama nouns, which have been taken over direct from the Sanskrit without passing through Prākrit, do not exhibit these peculiarities. They are formed by the simple process of adopting the Sanskrit nominative case, rejecting only anuswāra, visarga, and a short final *a*. Thus the Sanskrit stems ichchhā, agni, dhātu, dātṛi, mātṛi, sarit, dhanwat, rājan, nāman, mahiman, tejaswin, manas, chakshus appear in Hindī as ichchhā, agni, dhātu, dātā, mātā, sarit, dhanwān, rājā, nām, mahimā, tejaswī, man, chakshu. The only exception are bases in *-vat*, which in Hindī frequently substitute for that termination *-vant*, instead of *-vān*, as pāpwant, balwant; this is due to the influence of Prākrit, where

the nom. sing of such bases ends in *tanto*, Old H. *rantu*, later *ranta*, *rant*.

The declension of nouns is effected in Hindī by means of what are called post-positions, thus —

Singular.

	Masc. consonantal stem.	Masc. stem in -*ā*.	Fem consonantal stem.	Fem. stem in ī.
Nom.	bāgh	ghorā	bāt	beṭī
Accus.	bāgh / bāgh-ko	ghorā / ghore-ko	bāt / bāt ko	beṭī / beṭī-ko
Dat.	bāgh ko	ghore-ko	bāt ko	beṭī ko
Abl.	bāgh-se	ghore-se	bāt-se	beṭī se
Loc.	bāgh-meñ	ghore-meñ	bāt-meñ	beṭī-meñ
Agent	bāgh-ne	ghore-ne	bāt-ne	beṭī ne
Gen	bāgh-kā	ghore-kā	bāt-kā	beṭī kā
Voc.	bāgh	ghore	bāt	beṭī

Plural

	Masc. consonantal stem.	Masc. stem in -*ā*.	Fem consonantal stem.	Fem. stem in ī.
Nom.	bāgh	ghore	bāteñ	beṭiyāñ
Accus.	bāgh / bāghoñ-ko	ghore / ghoroñ-ko	bāteñ / bātoñ-ko	beṭiyāñ / beṭiyoñ-ko
Dat.	bāghoñ ko	ghoroñ ko	bātoñ-ko	beṭiyoñ-ko
Abl.	bāghoñ-se	ghoroñ-se	bātoñ-se	beṭiyoñ-se
Loc.	bāghoñ-meñ	ghoroñ-meñ	bātoñ meñ	beṭiyoñ-meñ
Agent	bāghoñ ne	ghoroñ ne	bātoñ-ne	beṭiyoñ ne
Gen.	bāghoñ-kā	ghoroñ-kā	bātoñ-kā	beṭiyoñ kā
Voc.	bāgho	ghoro	bāto	beṭiyo

It will be seen that in the singular one class of nouns only, the masculine in -*ā*, has a special form before the case-affixes, the other classes remaining unchanged; while in the plural three of the four, the masculine in -*ā*, the consonantally ending feminine, and the feminine in ī, take a special form for the nominative, and all the

[illegible]

Hindi texts, post-positions are very sparingly used. The noun appears in a crude form, generally without any termination indi-

cative of case or number; and the sense of a passage can be discovered only from the order of the words, and often very imperfectly even from that. Sometimes, however, the noun is inflected in the singular, and more often in the plural, by the addition of certain elements which are not the post-positions; *aha* and *ahi* are those added to the singular and nominative plural, and *ani*, *ana*, *ni*, *añ* those added to the plural. These endings seemed to be used indifferently with all the oblique cases of the singular except the vocative, and *ana*, *ani*, *añ* appear also in the plural nominative.

In the *Ādi Granth*, our second great authority for Old Hindī, we find that masculines ending in -*u* in the nominative singular end in -*a* in the oblique singular and nominative plural (as is still the case in Sindhī); masculines in -*ā* end in -*ai* in the oblique sing. and nom. plural; and both classes of nouns end in -*āñ* in the plural oblique. In the language of Kabīr and that of the *Rāmāyan* of Tulsī Dās, the same terminations as those in use in Chand are found, -*ahi*, *hi*, *aha* for the singular oblique, and *ana*, *ani*, *anha*, *anhi* for the plural.

If we turn to the pronouns, we find an oblique termination in the singular which in one class of dialects (High Hindī and other western types) is represented by -*as*, -*su*, and in another (the southern and eastern dialects) by -*hi*. Thus, from the stem *i* (*yah*, *ih*, *e*, &c.), the oblique is in the former class *is*, *isu*, and in the latter *yahi*, *ihi*, *ehi*; from the stem *u* (*woh*, *uh*, *o*), *us*, *wahi*, *uhi*, *wā*; from the stems *ja*, *ji* (*jo*),—*jāsu*, *jāsa*, *jis*, *jihi*, *jāhi*; from the stem *ta*, *ti* (*so*, *to*), *tāsu*, *tāsa*, *tās*, *tis*, *tihi*, *tā*. With the pronouns of the first and second persons singular, *haun* (*main*) and *tū*, we find only the oblique in *h*—*mohi*, *muhi*, *mo*, and *tohi*, *tuhi*, *to*; the second type in *s* is here represented by *mujh* and *tujh*, which in all probability stand for an older *mujhya*, *tujhya*, and these for *musya*, *tusya*. These inflected pronominal forms are used in old and poetic Hindī, without any further affix, for all cases except that of the agent, and sometimes even, though rarely, for that also.

From these indications and the known laws of phonetic change it appears to be a fair conclusion that the ancient -*ahi* (-*aha*, -*hi*) of the singular of nouns is identical with an older -*asi* (-*asa*, -*si*, -*su*);[1] and we are thus led to the Sanskrit genitive of *a*-stems ending in -*asya*. If we now turn to the Prākrit, we find that the Sanskrit *asya* is represented by -*assa*, -*āsa*, *āha*, and, furthermore, that this genitive of one class of Sanskrit nouns has been applied to all masculine and neuter nouns in the language. We also find that of the five Sanskrit cases (not counting the accusative and the vocative, of which the former was at an early stage in Prākrit assimilated to the nominative), the genitive termination is used to denote all except the instrumental and locative. We seem therefore to be justified in

[1] The required form *asi* to which these indications seem to point is reported by Dr Trumpp (Introduction to *Ādi Granth*, p. cxxxvi.) to exist in specimens of the oldest Hindī preserved in the *Granth*. Besides the explanation of the final -*i* suggested above, it is of course also possible that it may have arisen direct from the Sk. *asya* through solution of the nexus into *asia*.

concluding that the origin of the Hindī forms in *asi, asa, ahi, aha* is to be found in the Sk genitive *asya*, Pk *assa, āsa, āha* The *i* used interchangeably with *a* as a termination has possibly arisen from the Prākrit ablative, which in the Śauraseni dialect ends

[illegible] lency to fusion of case-

probable that two ter-

; and as a fact, in the

ie ablative and genitive

[illegible]

became *mhia*, and was used with other than pronominal stems, has contributed to the general oblique form *-ahi*, which also appears with anunāsika, as *ahiñ*.

Applying these conclusions to our oldest specimens of Hindī, we may exhibit the development of the oblique singular hypothetically as follows :—

Masculine Nouns ending consonantally in Modern Hindī.

	Sansk.	*Prak*	*Early Hindī.*	*Mod Hind.*
Nom.	vyāghrah	vaggho	bagghu, bāghu	bāgh
Obl.	vyāghrasya	vagghassa vagghāsa vagghāha vagghāhe	bagghaha bagghahi, &c. } in Chand, &c. baggha, bāgha, in *Granth*	bāgh

Masculine Nouns ending in -ā in Modern Hindī

Nom	ghoṭakah	ghoḍao	ghorau	ghorā
Obl	ghoṭakasya	ghoḍaassa ghoḍaāsa ghoḍaāha ghoḍaahe	[ghorāhi] ghorai	ghore

[illegible]

where the hiatus existed; that is, augmented nouns in *-akah*, the

[illegible]

ghorāhi, to the form ghore.

[illegible] a consonant or a word, have [illegible] in the singular; occasionally we [illegible] in Old Hindi the affix aha, ahi, which [illegible] Sanskrit masculine and neuter [illegible]. This is probably due to the fact that a considerable [illegible] in Sanskrit and Prākrit were masculine or [illegible] with feminines in -ī and -ā, [illegible] in Hindi. [illegible], &c., is masc. in Sk. and [illegible] in Hindi; [illegible], is neut. in Sk. and Pk., [illegible] in Hindi; [illegible], is neut. in Sk. and [illegible] all these nouns in Prākrit formed their [illegible] which would [illegible] to the oblique termination aha, ahi in Hindi. The [illegible] of proper feminines in Prākrit was [illegible] to the nominative: as nom. [illegible] genitive, jībhāe or jībhāi, [illegible]. The e, weakened to [illegible] in Hindi, though in more Prākritic Marāṭhī [illegible].

In the plural, as has already been shown, the modern termination [illegible] in the older language by -ani, ani, [illegible] in the western dialects (Nānak's Japjī, agreeing with the [illegible] and Himalayan dialects of the present day) by [illegible]. While in the modern speech all masculines except old tadbhavas in -ā have the same form in the nominative plural as in the singular, in the older dialects this termination ([illegible], &c.) is occasionally [illegible] to the nominative also. The anunāsika [illegible] in the west (to which type High Hindi belongs), the [illegible] in the east; Braj, which stands midway, exhibits both -ani [illegible]. Reasoning from the analogy of the singular, in which it has been seen that the genitive has taken possession of all the oblique cases, it seems probable that we have here the Sanskrit genitive plural of a-stems, -ānām, Pk. -āṇaṃ. The final -ni of the dialectic forms possibly arose from a confusion of this termination with the nominative plural ending -āni, which in Sanskrit is peculiar to neuters, but in Prākrit had extended itself to masculines and feminines. In the latter termination we have probably to look for the origin of the modern feminine plural nominatives in -ā̃ (Old H. -āni) and -iyā̃ (contracted in adjectives to -ī̃). In Prākrit āni became āi, āiṃ, which easily yield the present forms.

There remains for consideration only the masculine nominative plural of old tadbhavas in -ā, ending in -e (as ghoṛe, māthe, kutte). This is identical in form with the oblique singular; and it has already been noticed that in Old Hindi we find this to be the case with other nouns. In Chand we find parvataha, saraha, singhaha, &c., used for the nominative plural as well as for the singular oblique; in the fragments of Nāmdeo (about 1300) preserved in the *Granth* we have similarly bhawaraha, "bees," bhagataha, "worshippers," santaha, "saints"; and in later portions of the *Granth* (as in Nānak's Japjī, about 1500) old tadbhavas in -u form the nom. pl.

[illegible], and was as usual shortened to *-i* in Hindi. We find ablatives in *-ahu*, *-au*, *-o*, and also in *-hi*, *-I*, *-i*, in the Hindi of the *Ādi Granth* (as manahu, "from the mind," āpau, "from oneself," [illegible]

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1873, pt. I., p. 88, note.

the nominative, where muh has ousted the older kaun (Sk. [illegible] with [illegible], [illegible], Pk. [illegible], Old H. kauṇ).

Much has been done of late years to clear up the nature of the [illegible], in which it was once supposed that non-Aryan influence [illegible] [illegible] of itself. There are in Hindī three classes of words which perform the function performed by prepositions in other languages; these are distinguished according to the manner in which they are attached to the noun they qualify. The first class requires the noun to be in the oblique genitive case (ghar-ke [illegible], "[illegible] the house," [illegible] [illegible], "outside the house." The second requires it to be in the oblique, without the genitive [illegible] ([illegible], "[illegible] the house;" [illegible], "in the [illegible]"); and the third class consists of words which may optionally be construed in either way (as [illegible] or [illegible], "below the house;" [illegible] or [illegible] pār, "across the river;" [illegible] or [illegible], "[illegible]"). In the third class we are justified in recognizing the [illegible] between the first and second; and in the first we [illegible] the origin of all.[1] These post-positions are, in fact, originally nouns used mostly in the locative case. Thus us-ke pīchhe is literally "in the [illegible] part of it;" [illegible] (old forms [illegible], [illegible]) [illegible] the Sk. madhye, "in the middle of it." From this it [illegible] clear why the oblique form, the relic of the Sanskrit and Prākrit genitive, is used with all post-positions; and the derivation of that form from the ancient genitive receives additional confirmation. In the regular case post-positions given in the paradigm set forth above (to which others might be added), the [illegible] with the noun has become so close that the genitive [illegible] is [illegible]; but there was certainly a time when a genitive [illegible] was understood to exist; thus we find in Chand [illegible] [illegible] (modern [illegible]) and [illegible] (modern [illegible]) placed before the noun, a construction only possible if the latter is conceived in the genitive. We must accordingly look to original nouns or nominal forms for the origin of all the case affixes except those of the genitive itself, which, as will hereafter be seen, have a different origin or [illegible] from the rest.

The [illegible] has two forms; it either agrees with the nominative, as in Prākrit, or with the dative, and is made by the addition of [illegible] to the oblique stem. Ko is in Braj [illegible], and older forms are [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]. The derivation of this word is obscure.[2] The [illegible] with which the word terminates in the older forms is a legitimate descendant of the Sk. anusvāra, which commonly, as already seen, separates into a labial and anunāsika.

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[1] It is not therefore [illegible] to assume that all the post-positions were originally joined to the noun by the genitive particle ke, but that with all originally the noun was [illegible] as in the genitive, whether the case particle was used or was [illegible] [illegible] in the older [illegible].

[2] Dr. Trumpp [illegible] it from a hypothetical older [illegible], representing the Sk. [illegible]. Dr. Hoernle would see in it the Sk. [illegible], accusative of [illegible], "[illegible]," the locative of which yields the Bengali [illegible], "near." This latter derivation is supported by another Old Hindī word, [illegible], "near," which [illegible]

With pronouns another word, *taiñ* (older form *tāiñ*, in Rāmānand *thāi*), is used as an accusative affix, but generally with the genitive particle *ke*, though it is also found without (us-ke taiñ, us-taiñ), this is probably from the Sk. sthāne, Old H. thāni, thāni In the

sa- The form *se* has arisen from *sam* by the weakening of the

from the Sk. *pakhkam*

the middle of," *tale*, "below," &c. The history of most of these is sufficiently clear. *Māñ* takes in the dialects and in Old Hindi the forms *mahi*, *mahĩ*, *māhĩ*, *majhi*, *mãjhi*, *madhi*, &c., all of which point to the Sk. *madhye*, locative of *madhya*. *Par* is in Mārwārī still *upari*, and dialectically *pari*, *pai*, *pa*. *Upari* is the Sk. *upari*, which has also yielded *ūpar*. *Talak* and *tak* are apparently longer and shorter forms of the same word, and have been connected with the Sk. *dughna*, used in the same sense (by metathesis *daungh*, and with change of *d* to *t*, *n* to *l*, and dropping of the aspirate, *talagh*). *Lag*, *lāgi*, *lagā*, also meaning "up to," are all descendants of the Sk. conjunctive participles *lagya* and *lagitvā* (√*lag*, "to be attached"), in Pk. *lagia* and *lagiūna*.

The case of the *agent* is commonly called the *instrumental*; but it has not the full range of meanings belonging to the Sk. instrumental, and is restricted to the expression of the agent in passive verbal phrases. Its post-position is *ne* in the standard dialect, Kanauji and Garhwālī, *nẽ* in Braj, and *le* in Kumāunī and Nepālī. In the other dialects it does not exist, the crude oblique being used instead, or, as in Mārwārī and Mewārī, a special oblique (in *-ai*, the usual oblique of *a*-stems being *-ā*) being employed for it. This post-position is very sparingly used in Old Hindi, and some have denied that it occurs at all in the oldest specimens; this statement, however, requires consideration. Tulsī-Dās does not use it, but his dialect is distinctly of the Eastern type, where it is still unknown.[1]

We now come to the consideration of the analytic genitive in *-kā*. It is in the first place to be observed that this case is not, properly speaking, an inflexion of the noun, but an adjective derived from it, agreeing in gender, number, and case with the noun qualified: *bāp-kā ghar* is not *patris domus*, but *paterna domus*. The Hindi adjective in *-ā* is inflected to *-e* in the masculine singular oblique and throughout the plural, and to *-ī* in the feminine, both direct and

[1] The origin of this post-position has not yet been demonstrated. Mr Beames would connect it with the old western accusative in *ne* or *nai* in use in the district round Delhi where the Urdū language took its origin, and he derives both from *lagi* or *lāgi*; this, however, appears to be a somewhat violent transfer of meaning. Another theory would derive it from the Sanskrit instrumental of *a*-stems, in *-ena* (*purushena = purush-ne*); but this seems contrary to the analogy of all the other post-positions, which are independent particles (usually locatives of nouns) attached to the old genitive. *Ne* is found in Marāthī, the most Prākritic of the modern languages, but is there constructed, not with the crude oblique, as in Hindī, but with the genitive of the noun; thus, "by him," in Marāthī is *tyā-kē-yā-nẽ*, the literal equivalent of which in Hindī would be *us-ke ne*. It appears to the present writer possible that *ne* may have arisen out of the pronominal instrumentals *ini*, *uni*, *jini*, *tini*, *kini*, which were in use down to a very recent period, and may still be heard in the dialects: the stem being recognized as *i*, *u*, *ji*, &c., the *ni* might have been conceived to be a separate particle, and its use thus extended to nouns. This process might have been facilitated by the existence (which is certain) of the other *ne* used as an accusative affix (=*ko*), with which the *-ni* in *ini*, &c., may have been supposed to be connected. The obvious convenience of such a particle would, after its use had been thus originated, lead to its general application, just as the case post-positions generally, neglected in the archaic poetry, gradually commended themselves to acceptance as aids to clearness and logical coherence, and in the present day are universally employed.

a number of forms are met with. The oldest is probably *kera*, inflected to *kerī*, *kere*, *ker*; side by side with this we find *kara*, *kari*, and lastly *ka* (क), feminine *kai* In Chand and the language of the Bhagats we find *kĕrā*, *kara*, *kau*, *ko*, *kā* The discovery of the [illegible] of this particle is due to Dr Hoernle, who has

for mood, tense, person, &c, to an unchangeable stem or root Thus, from the root *mār*, "beat," the infinitive is *mār-nā*, the present participle *mār-tā*, the past participle passive *mār-ā*, the [illegible], the future [illegible] thus not a [illegible] cant word, [illegible] singular of [illegible] *khāī*, "he [illegible] es of tense and person an easily separable and independent form [illegible]

[1] In this sketch this tense is called the present, because it is the legitimate *descendant of the ancient Sanskrit and Prākrit present, but its use in the modern* tongue is more often as a subjunctive or contingent future, though in many cases (especially in the older forms of the language) it still retains a present signification.

as the stem; in the first class we have always to refer back the modern root to a Prākrit form conjugated on the *bhū* type, to the exclusion of other conjugations, of the Sanskrit verb. Together with the above two classes there exists (*c*) a small number of modern verbs which exhibit a double form and a corresponding active and neuter or passive sense, and which are derived, the active form from the Sanskrit present parasmai when that is not, and the neuter from the Sanskrit causal when it is not, and the neuter from the Sanskrit present parasmai when that is active in meaning, or the Sanskrit passive when it is not. Finally, (*d*) a limited class of verbs (only six in modern Hindi, but more in some other languages of the family and in the older dialects) have passive past participles derived, through Prākrit, direct from the Sanskrit equivalent form, and thus differing from the stem taken for all other parts of the verb. Examples of these various processes are given below —

(*a*)

Sansk root.	*Sansk pres*	*Prāk pres*	*Hindi pres.*	*Hindi stem*
√bhū	bharati	hodi, hoi	hoi, howe	ho
√chal	chalati	chalai	chale	chal
√kamp	kampati	kampai	kā̃mpe	kā̃mp
√bhram	bhramati	bhamai	bhame, bhãwe	bham, bhãw
√yā	yāti	jādi, jāadi, jāai	jāo	jā
√swap	swapiti	supati, suvai	sowe	so
√nṛit	nṛityati	nachchai	nāche	nāch
√śak	{śaknoti {śakyati	sakkanoti sakkai }	sake	sak
√khād	khādati	khāai	khāe	khā
√charv	charvati	chabbai	chābe	chāb

(*b*)

Sansk root	*Sansk past part pass.*	*Prāk past part pass*	*Hindi stem.*
upa+√viś	upaviṣhṭah	uvaiṭṭho	baiṭh
pra+√viś	praviṣhṭah	paiṭṭho	paiṭh
√pach	pakwah	pikko, pikko	pak
√śush	śushkah	sukkho	sūkh
ā+√gam	āgatah	āao	āw, ā

(*c*) Double stems,—(1) where one form of the stem has come from the active and the other from the passive of Sanskrit and Prākrit.

Root.		*Sansk pres*	*Prāk pres*	*Hindi pres*	*Hindi root*	
√chhuṭ	*active*	chhotati	chhodai	chhoṛe	chhoṛ	*active*
	passive	ch'huṭyate	chhuṭṭai	chhūṭe	chhūṭ	*neuter*
√tul	*active*	tolati	tolai	tole	tol	*active*
	passive	tulyate	tullai	tule	tul	*neuter*
√stambh	*active*	stabhnoti	thambhai	{thā̃mbhe {thā̃me	thā̃mbh thām }	*active*
	passive ātmanep	stabhyate stambhate }	thabbhai	thambhe	thambh	*neuter*

(2) where the neuter form is derived from the Sanskrit parasmai or ātmanepada, and the active from the Sanskrit causal:—

√sphaṭ	*parasmai*	sphaṭati	phaṭai	phaṭe	phaṭ	*neuter*
	causal	sphāṭayati	phāḍei	phāṛe	phāṛ	*active*
√sphuṭ	*parasmai*	sphuṭati	phuṭṭai	phūṭe	phūṭ	*neuter*
	causal	sphoṭayati	phoḍei	phoṛe	phoṛ	*active*
√tṛī	*parasmai*	tarati	tarai	tare	tar	*neuter*
	causal	tārayati	tārei	tāre	tār	*active*

(*d*) The six verbs, the past part passive of which in Hindi exhibits

a different root from that which is used in the other formations, are the following:—

honā,	root	*ho*,	p.p.p.	*huā*, *bhaā*.
marnā,	„	*mar*,	„	*muā*.
jānā,	„	*jā*,	„	*gayā*, *giyā*.
karnā,	„	*kar*,	„	*kiyā*, *kīnā*, *kīnhā*, *kīdhā* (last three archaic).
denā,	„	*de*,	„	*diyā*, *dīnā*, *dīnhā*, *dīdhā* „ „
lenā,	„	*le*,	„	*liyā*, *līnā*, *līnhā*, *līdhā* „ „

The processes above explained appear to be those which, either directly or by analogy, yield the great majority of Hindī primary verbal stems. These are in most cases monosyllabic, dissyllables being due either (1) to the incorporation of a Sanskrit preposition, as *utar*, *sambhāl*, *nikāl*, (2) to the formation of verbs from reduplicated roots, chiefly onomatopoetic, or (3) to the addition of a syllable to a simple root for the purpose of giving a diminutive or other modified sense to it. But besides the primary stems there are secondary ones, conjugated throughout like the primaries, which may be divided into (1) regular developments of the simple stem, as passives and causals, and (2) denominatives, or verbs formed from nouns.

Of an organic *passive* there is in the standard dialect only a single relic in what is termed the *respectful imperative*. This exists in three forms, ending respectively in *-iye*, *-iyo*, and *-iyegā* (as māriye, māriyo, māriyegā); in its modern use it is restricted to courteous forms of address, and is constructed (by a forgetfulness of its origin) as an active verb in the second singular imperative. But in the older specimens of the language, and in some peculiar phrases which have survived to modern times, we find a wider range both of forms and meanings. Thus, a very frequent use of this form of the verb in poetry (and sometimes even in prose) is to express deliberation with oneself, either in the present, imperative, or even in a future sense. A large number of instances occur in the Rāmāyan where this form can only be construed as a simple passive. We even find a present participle passive, ending in *-iyat*. So also in the common word *chāhiye*, "it is necessary," there is no precative or respectful sense; the literal meaning is—"it is wished," and in Panjābī we still have *chāhīdā hai*. In the *Granth* a fully conjugated passive formed by adding *-ī* to the simple root exists (*e.g.*, hoīai, pāīahi, bhawāīahi, jānīahi, 3d. pers. sing.; kahīani 3d. pers. plur.). In the Māṛwāṛī dialect there is still a complete form in -ij, as—active *karṇo*, passive *karījṇo*. All these come from the Prākrit passive, which substituted *-īa*, strengthened in some dialects to *ijja*, for the Sanskrit *y*; as Sk. śrūyate, Pk. suṇīadi, suṇīaī, suṇijjai. Both in Sanskrit and Prākrit it was usual to employ the passive potential periphrastically, where respect was intended, for the imperative. Of the three Hindī forms *-iye* (anciently *-iyai*, *-iyahi*) is the 3d. sing. pres., *-iyo* (anciently *-iyahu*) the 3d. sing. of the imperative or potential, and *-iyegā* the 3d. sing. of the synthetic future. When the verbal stem ends in *-ī*, and sometimes when it ends in *ū*, the concourse of the vowels leads to the strengthening of *y* to *j*; *e.g.*,

√lī + iye = lije; √jī + iye = jīje; √hū + iye = hūje. In later Hindī the origin of these forms (which are alone found in the older language) has been forgotten, and iye, &c., have been again added to the stem increased by j, as lījiye, lījiyo, hūjiye, &c.

The place of a passive in the modern language is taken by a compound verb made up of the past participle passive with jānā, "to go;" thus, mārā jānā, "to be beaten," mārā gayā, "he was beaten," mārā jāegā, "he will be beaten," &c. This form is undoubtedly ancient, being found frequently in Chand, the Granth, and the language of the Bhagats; but it is somewhat sparingly employed, the arrangement of the sentence being inverted so as to yield an active construction; moreover, the large number of neuter verbs with a passive sense in the language supplies to a great extent the need of a separate passive. The use of jānā in this manner seems to be a development peculiar to the modern languages, but it is easily intelligible; it is exactly parallel to the use of shudan, "to go," for the same purpose in Persian.

Causals in Hindī are of two grades, the single and the double causal. The first is made by the addition to the simple stem of the syllable ā (anciently and in the dialects āw, āū), and indicates that the condition implied in the simple verb is caused to exist, as ban-nā, "to be made," banā-nā, "to cause to be made, to make." The double causal is formed by adding to the simple stem the syllable wā (anciently and in the dialects wāw, wāū), and indicates that the condition implied in the simple causal is caused to exist, as banā-nā, "to make," banwā-nā, "to cause to make," sun-nā, "to hear," sunā-nā, "to cause to hear, to tell," sunwā-nā, "to cause to tell." The older form of the simple causal, in āū, survives in a few modern verbs as o, as bhīgnā, "to be wet," bhigonā, "to wet," dūbnā, "to sink (neut.) in water," dubonā, "to immerse." The vowel of the simple stem, if long, is regularly shortened before the causal affixes; and if the simple stem ends in a vowel, hiatus is avoided by the insertion of l (in the dialects r), as so-nā, sulā-nā, khā-nā, khilā-nā. A few verbs insert l (r) where no hiatus is possible, and in some the inserted l follows instead of preceding the added vowel; as dekh-nā, dikh-lānā, baith-nā, bith-lānā, baithāl-nā.[1] Of the first causal the origin is undoubtedly to be sought in the Sanskrit causals formed by inserting -āp between the gunated or vriddhied root and the causal termination -aya. In Sanskrit this practice is confined to a small number of roots; but in Prākrit, owing to the disappearance of the aya of the regular causal (which first became e and then fell out altogether) and the consequent want of determinate-

[1] This inserted l or r is difficult to explain; it has been connected by some with the Sanskrit causal in l, found in a few verbs, as from √pā, causal pālayati. On the other hand, Dr Trumpp considers it to be merely euphonic, introduced to prevent hiatus; and in this view it may be paralleled by the similar insertion of r in Mārwārī passives after stems ending in a vowel, as lerṇo, lerīṇo, deṇo, darīṇo. Besides the irregular forms with l others exist in Braj, in which the hiatus is supplied by w, as khāwnaū, khawānaū, pīnaū, piwānaū. Dikhānā, bithānā, sikhānā, &c., are in common use, as well as dikhlānā, bithlānā, sikhlānā.

ness in its form, the *āp*-form of the causal came into greatly extended use, and, *p* being as usual softened to *v*, yielded the modern forms in *āv*, *āü*, and, by dropping the junction-vowel, *ā*. The double causal is apparently a purely modern development, and is an interesting illustration of the application of analogical processes to materials acquired from the ancient grammatical stock.

Denominatives are somewhat rare, and generally take the form of the first causal; they are most numerous with reduplicated and onomatopoetic stems, and are in all probability modern growths. In their form, however, they recall the Sanskrit denominatives, which are also formed on the model of the causal in *aya*. The employment of the causal form in this process is perhaps the reason why some Hindī verbs, though causal in form, are passive or neuter in sense) as kahlānā and kahānā, "to be called"; ghabrānā, "to be agitated."

The Conjugational System.—The tenses of the Hindī verb as compared with the ancient conjugational scheme exhibit poverty in synthetic and richness in analytic and participial combinations. Of the long array of Sanskrit synthetic tenses only two survive in modern Hindī, the present and the imperative; in the older language a third, the future, is found; all the other tenses are formed analytically. The process which has yielded the present condition of things is, however, a gradual one. Even in Sanskrit itself analytical formations exist (*ūndām chakāra*, *babhūva*, and *āsa*; *bodhitā'smi*; *tena gatam*, &c.) by the side of synthetical ones; and in the successive stages of Prākrit we see the gradual disappearance of synthetic tense after tense. Where Prākrit leaves off, Hindī begins:—with a present, future, and imperative synthetically formed, and all the other tenses provided for by means of participles either with or without auxiliary verbs. In an examination of conjugational forms, therefore, our attention will be addressed first to the relics of ancient synthesis, called by Mr Beames *the simple tenses*; secondly, to *the participial tenses*, those which consist of a participle alone, or of a participle to which is attached a fragment of the old substantive verb or other auxiliary, incorporated with the participle and no longer separable from it; and thirdly, to *the compound tenses*, consisting of participles and auxiliary verbs, in which the auxiliary is still separate and distinct. The first two classes are those which are mainly found in the older forms of the language, the third being represented chiefly in the modern, where the need of fine distinctions and multiplied forms of phrase is more felt than in the archaic and poetical speech. Lastly, some verbal forms not coming within the tense system will be noticed.

a. *The Simple Tenses.*—These are, as already stated, the present (now used chiefly in a potential or contingent future sense, the imperative, and the archaic future.

The *present* has in the modern language the following terminations; *singular*, 1st pers. -*ūn*, 2d pers. -*e*, 3d pers. -*e*; *plural*, 1st pers. -*eṅ*, 2d pers. -*o*, 3d pers. -*eṅ*: as—sing., 1st pers. chalūn, 2d pers. chale, 3d pers. chale; plur., 1st pers. chaleṅ, 2d pers.

chala, 3d pers. chale. [illegible] monuments of the language, we find [illegible] some of which are preserved in the modern dialects. [illegible] ends there in -ai, as still in Awadhi and Hindi, [illegible] (the present Panjabi form) [illegible] (as in a fragment of [illegible]) which resembles the Marathi and Oriya [illegible] Bengali in -i. The 2d pers. sing. ends [illegible] Hindi in [illegible] found in the *Ramayan* [illegible] a form in [illegible]; in Awadhi and Hindi [illegible] a common form in Old Hindi [illegible] sing. ends in [illegible] in Old Hindi [illegible] and also in [illegible] in the *Ramayan* and the [illegible] -ta, in the [illegible] The 2d pers. plur. in Old Hindi [illegible] Awadhi [illegible] plur. in [illegible] Garhwali [illegible] older forms:—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1st pers.	[illegible]	[illegible]
2d "	[illegible]	[illegible]
3d "	[illegible]	[illegible]

In Prakrit the 1st pers. sing. of the present [illegible] Sanskrit termination [illegible] [illegible]

reduce the terminations of several persons to one common form. The 2d pers. plur. ends in Sanskrit in *-atha*; but in Prākrit the ātmanepada form in *-adhwe*, and another, properly belonging to the ātmanepada imperative, in *-adhwam*, early crept into the general scheme of the tense (the ātmanepada having been lost as a separate phase of the verb), so that we have in that language the terminations *-aha*, *-adha*, *-adham*, which last yields, by the passage of *dh* into *h*, and the solution of anuswāra into anunāsika and *u*, the former of which has been lost, the archaic Hindi *ahu* and the modern *au*, *o*; the Garhwālī *-ā* apparently sprang from *-aha*. The 3d pers. plur. always ends in Prākrit, as in Sanskrit, in *-anti*, which by the loss of *t* yields *-ani*, *-an*, and by the conversion of the nasal into anunāsika and its transfer to the second vowel *aĩ*, *aiñ*, *eñ*; the inserted *h* in the old forms seems to be merely an avoidance of hiatus, though it is possible here also to suppose an old *-asanti* from √*as*, yielding *ahanti*, *ahani*, *ahiñ*.

The *imperative* in the modern language does not differ from the present except in the 2d sing., which is the verbal root only, without any affix; in Old Hindī, however, we find in the 2d sing. the terminations *-esi*, *-esī*, *-asu* (*-as* in Awadhī and Riwāī) *ahi*, *-i*, *ahu*, *u*; as—mānasi, rachesi, parakhesu, karahi, sunahu, badi, taji, bhaju. The 3d sing. has the terminations *ahu*, *aū*, *hu*, *u*; the 2d plur. in Old Hindī ends in *ahu*, *ehu*, *aū*. The other persons resemble those of the present. In Prākrit we find the explanation of all these forms. The 2d sing. regularly assumed *-ahi* in place of the usual Sanskrit *-a*, extending to all conjugations the use of this termination, which is similarly used in Vedic Sanskrit, but in the classical language only in the 2d, 3d, 7th, and 9th conjugations; *ahi* shortened yielded *i*. The other forms in *esu*, *asi*, *as*, *ahu*, *u*, sprang out of the ātmanepada form, Sk. *-aswa*, Pk. *assu*, which was used in later Prākrit interchangeably with the parasmaipada. The 3d singular *aū* is pure Prākrit, for the Sk. *atu*, Pāli *adu*; *ahu* arises from *h* inserted to avoid hiatus. The other persons agree with the present, and, except the 3d plur. in *-antu*, were confounded with it as early as the Prākrit stage.

The *archaic future* is found in the present day only in Braj, Kanaujī, the Rājpūtānā dialects, and some persons of the future in Awadhī, Riwāī, and Bhojpurī; it is, however, in common use in the *Rāmāyan* and in all older Hindī poetry. There are two types of it, having for their characteristics respectively *h* and *s*; the latter is the oldest. Of the *s*-type the following is the scheme; it exists in Mārwāṛī in the present day, and is found frequently in the *Granth*:—

		Older Type, in Granth. (Nāmdeo, Kabīr, Nānak).	*Present Mārwāṛī.*
Sing.	1st pers.	mār-asūñ	mār-asyūñ, mār-asūñ
	2d „	mār-asahī	mār-asī
	3d „	mār-asī, -asu	mār-asī
Plur.	1st „	[mār-asahīñ]	mār-asyāñ
	2d „	[mār-asahu]	mār-asyo, mār-aso
	3d „	[mār-asahiñ][1]	mār-asī

[1] The forms in brackets are supplied from analogy, the writer not having met them in his reading.

[illegible]

All these forms come originally from the Sanskrit [illegible] forms in [illegible], which in Prakrit became [illegible]. As early as Pali we find the characteristic *s* softened to *h* in some verbs, and in Apabhramsa we find such forms as (from [illegible]) [illegible], [illegible]; (from √kar) karihimi, karihisi, karihiii. From the Prakrits in which the *s* survived sprung the Hindi forms having that letter, and from those in which it passed into *h* the others. It is unnecessary to discuss the terminations of the several persons, as what has been said of the identical terminations of the present applies here also.

[illegible]

tional past. A peculiar form occurs in the *Rāmāyan* in a past conditional sense, which has incorporated into it what we must

[illegible]

[illegible], from the root *ho-*, to be, we have:—

		Awadhi. Masc	Fem	Rīwāī
Sing.	1st pers.	hotyauñ	hotiuñ	hotyeuñ
	2d "	hotes	hotis	hotyes
	3d "	hot	hoti	hwāt[1]
Plur.	1st "	hoyita or hotta		hoteñ
	2d "	horyo	hotin	hotyen
	3d "	hote	hotiñ	hwānt[1]

[1] These forms look like remnants of quite another conjugation, the Sk. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] from the south, [illegible] (where the l-form [illegible] still Hindi. In them we find a past [illegible] in [illegible] and [illegible], in [illegible], and in the [illegible] fragments, [illegible] Hindi forms in [illegible] tano, [illegible], kahe,

---

[illegible] It is characteristic of [illegible] as also in many other parts [illegible]

die, jānyā, mānyā). It is evident from these that the -*la* is an augment added to a participle already formed on the type in -*ita*;

[illegible]

has led, as in the case of the [illegible] use of the past participle ment of a [illegible] present participle, to the [illegible]

[illegible] have closely corresponding

	Singular. Masc.	Singular. Fem.	Plural. Masc.	Plural. Fem.
1st pers.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]
2nd	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3rd	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible], [illegible]

It is [illegible] that there is much confusion in the use of these [illegible], [illegible] represents [illegible], as in [illegible] or [illegible]. [illegible] only, in Chand [illegible].

[illegible] future participle passive [illegible] in Prakrit ends [illegible] that the original [illegible]. No trace of this [illegible] in Hindi [illegible], but in the dialects it has yielded [illegible]; and [illegible] Eastern Hindi [illegible] in the [illegible]. Just so in the [illegible] passive [illegible] and [illegible] to make an [illegible] future [illegible] the [illegible] added [illegible] to make an active future. The [illegible], which we are led by [illegible] with the substantive verb, to [illegible], which ends [illegible] in both [illegible], although in the modern [illegible] and [illegible] fuller [illegible] survive. The [illegible] future in [illegible]:—

		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] future.
Sing.	1st pers.	[illegible]	[illegible] =	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
	2nd "	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]
	3rd "	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]
Plur.	1st "	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]
	2nd "	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]
	3rd "	[illegible]	[illegible]	"	[illegible]

There are two other types of the future in Hindi which, though not perhaps of the same kind as those just noticed, may conveniently be considered here. The first is that in use in the standard dialect, which is formed by adding to the present the terminations [illegible], [illegible], for the masc. sing. and plur., and -gī, -gīn, for the fem. (in Braj [illegible], [illegible], -gī, in Kanaujī [illegible], [illegible], -gī).

This type is the common future in Panjābī, and is alone employed in the present day in Western Hindī; in the older authors it is of comparatively rare occurrence, though it is certainly ancient, occurring in [illegible], the [illegible], and Kabir. There is little doubt that the [illegible] added to the present in this form of the future is the past participle of [illegible], "to go," identical with the modern gayā

(which is not seldom in the poets [illegible] to [illegible] *thee, thā*); [illegible] would then literally mean—"I am going that I may beat," = "I am going to beat," or "I will beat."

The other form is used in [illegible] and the Himālayan dialects of Kumāun, Garhwāl, and Nepāl. It is exactly parallel to the [illegible] form, except that instead of *gā* [illegible] is added to the terminations of the present *lū* (*lo*), &c. *L* is also the characteristic termination of the future in Marāthī. It seems probable that in this affix we have the past participle *lagā*, reduced to *lā*, *lī*, from the verb [illegible], "begin."

c. *The Compound Tenses.*—These are formed by adding to the [illegible]

[illegible] necessary be placed apart in the sentence from its fellow. The tenses so formed are numerous, and sometimes express very fine shades of meaning; they have grown up for the most part out of modern needs and strivings after precision, and though extremely interesting when considered from the logical side of grammar, are not so [illegible]

[illegible]

	Singular	Plural
1st pers.	ahaũ	ahahī̃, ahaĩ, haĩ
2d "	ahasi, ahahi, ahi, ahai, ahai	ahahu, hahu
3d "	ahah, ahi, ahai, ahai	ahahī̃, ahaĩ, ahaĩ, hahĩ

These forms take us back, according to the principles of derivation already set forth, to a Sanskrit and Prākrit tense which should exhibit the following scheme:—

Sanskrit

Sing., 1st pers. asāmi; 2d pers. asasi, 3d pers. asati.
Plur., 1st pers. asāmah; 2d pers. asatha (asadhwam); 3d pers. asanti

Prakrit.

Sing., 1st pers. ahami, 2d pers. ahasi, 3d pers. ahai
Plur., 1st pers. ahamha; 2d pers. ahahu; 3d pers. ahanti

Such a tense would result from conjugating √*as* according to the *bhū*-form, and we have seen that all Sanskrit roots as a rule take

this form, whatever their conjugation in Sanskrit, in Prākrit. But the root *as* in the latter language is an exception, the forms being derived direct from the Sanskrit tense, which follows the *ad*-conjugation—Sk. asmi, asi, asti, smah, stha, santi; Pk. amhi, asi, atthi, amha, attha, santi. It seems beyond doubt that we are justified in assuming, although no specimens of such a tense have yet been found in literary Prākrit, that it did exist in the popular language and has been the parent, first of the archaic, and then of the modern Hindī.

This auxiliary is used with the present participle to form an absolute present, as *dekhtā hai*, "he is seeing;" and with the past participle to form an absolute past, as *us-ne dekhā hai*, "he has seen." Besides this much used present tense, some have referred to the root *as* the Braj and Mārwāṛī past participle (used as a past tense), masc. *ho*, plur. *he*, fem. *hī*, plur. *hīñ*; this may have come from a past participle *asitah*, through a Prākrit form *ahio*, *ahiao*, possible early Hindī *ahyau*, *aho*; it seems, however, more probable that *ho* is to be connected with *thā* (to which it corresponds) by the passage of *th* into *h*. Another participle used to form a past in Kanaujī is *hato*, plur. *hate*, fem. *hatī*, plur. *hatīñ*; this is most probably from the Sanskrit pres. participle *asan*, Pk. *asanto*, *ahanto*, *ahantao*, Hindī *ahatau*, *hato*. The change of meaning with this participle from present to past has parallels in other Indo-Aryan languages. The present participle *santo* is also used in Eastern Hindī in the inflected form for *hote* in the locative absolute, as—yah asakya sante, "this being impossible."

√*Achchh* is a root not found in classical Sanskrit, but common in Prākrit in the sense of *standing*, *being*, *existing*. It has been supposed by some that it is a modification of √*as*, and by others that it is the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit √*aksh*. It is not used in High Hindī, but is largely employed in substitution for the auxiliaries derived from √*as* in Mewāṛī, the Himālayan dialects, Tirhūtī, and the Dakhnī dialect of Urdū; in Oṛiyā and Bengali it is the common auxiliary, and is also much used in Marāṭhī under the form *as* (*ch* and *chh* becoming *s* in that dialect). In all the Hindī dialects but Dakhnī it has lost its initial vowel, which is retained in Bengali, Oṛiyā, and Marāṭhī. The following tenses of it are found in Hindī:—

Present ("I am," &c.)

	Singular.			*Plural.*		
	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.	1st pers.	2d pers.	3d pers.
Kumāunī	chhyauñ	chhai	chha	chhoñ	chhā	chhan, chhīñ
Garhwālī	chhauñ	chhai	chha	chhauñ	chhau	chhan
Mewāṛī	chhūñ	chhai	chhai	chhāñ	chho	chhai

Past (properly a participle = "I was," &c.): *Kumāunī*, sing. masc. chhiyo, plur. masc. chhiyā; *Mewāṛī*, chho, chhā; *Garhwālī* has a different root for this tense.

√*Vrit* is found as an auxiliary in substitution for √*as* in the Awadhī and Bhojpurī dialects; the following forms are in use—*Awadhī*, sing., 1st pers. bāṭyeuñ, 2d pers. bāṭe, 3d pers. bāṭai;

plur., 1st pers. bāti, 2d pers. bātyo, bātyeñ, 3d pers. bātaiñ; *Bhojpuri* has bāte, bate for all persons in both numbers. These forms are from the Sanskrit present ātmanepada *vartate*, &c., through the Prākrit *vattai*. It is probably to this stem (and not to √*bhū*) that we must refer the indeclinable *bā*, much used throughout the Eastern Hindi area as far west as Allahabad, and the Bhojpuri forms [illegible] sing. and plur.),

[illegible]

[illegible] ... ial auxiliary in [illegible] sing. masc. *thā*, plur. *the*, fem. *thī*, plur. *thīñ*, used with present and past participles thus—maiñ dekhtā thā, "I was seeing," maiñ-ne dekhā thā, "I had seen." *Thā* is from *sthitah*, as is proved by its forms in Nepāli and Garhwāli; in the former it makes, with incorporation of the substantive verb, a regular participial tense,—sing., 1st pers. *thiyāñ*, 2d pers. *this*, 3d pers. *thiyo*, plur., 1st pers. *thiyuñ*, 2d pers. *thiyau*, 3d pers. *thiyā*. The Garhwāli form is *thayo*, masc. sing., *thayā*, masc. plur., *thai*, fem. sing. and plur.

The past participle of the stem [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] High Hindi—koi hai? tum aodū is = H. [illegible] tum āte ho. The derivation of this word has not yet been explained.

The root *hū* is one of great importance in the modern languages, as it is chiefly by its means that the more elaborate modifications of tense and mood are effected. The auxiliaries hitherto discussed express only simple present and past time; derivatives of *hū* are [illegible]

[illegible]

Sk. bhutah, Pk. hūo); the former is from a formation in -*ita*, *bhavitah*, which would in Prākrit be *hūio*. In the dialects also the stem *ho* frequently harlens the vowel to *w*, assuming the form *hwai*, *hwe*. Of this root we have the following tenses in common use: (1) a present, *hotā*; (2) an imperative, *ho*; (3) a future, *hogā* (dial. *hwai*, *hvai*, *hvaihai*, *hoihi*, *hob*, *hoibo*), (4) a precative or respectful imperative *hūje*, *hūjiye*; (5) a present participle *hotā* (dial. *hovanto*, *hūta*, *hāt*, *hot*, *hotau*); (6) a past participle, *huā*, *hui* (dial. *bhayau*, *bhayau*, *bhā*, *bhaila*); besides various tenses made by combining with these the other auxiliaries. To this root also apparently belongs a Braj past tense *hato* (-*e*, -*i*), used as a relative [illegible], which is probably from the Pk. pres. part.

this form, whatever their conjugation in Sanskrit, in Prākrit. But the root *as* in the latter language is an exception, the forms being derived direct from the Sanskrit tense, which follows the *ad*-conjugation—Sk. asmi, asi, asti, smah, stha, santi; Pk. amhi, asi, atthi, amha, attha, santi. It seems beyond doubt that we are justified in assuming, although no specimens of such a tense have yet been found in literary Prākrit, that it did exist in the popular language and has been the parent, first of the archaic, and then of the modern Hindī.

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Gaṛhwālī	chhauñ	chhai	chha	chhauñ	chhau	chhan
Mewāṛī	chhūñ	chhai	chhai	chhāñ	chho	chhai

Past (properly a participle = "I was," &c.): *Kumāunī*, sing. masc. chhiyo, plur. masc. chhiyā; *Mewāṛī*, chho, chhā; *Gaṛhwālī* has a different root for this tense.

√*Vrit* is found as an auxiliary in substitution for √*as* in the Awadhī and Bhojpurī dialects; the following forms are in use:—*Awadhī*, sing., 1st pers. bāṭyeuñ, 2d pers. bāṭe, 3d pers. bāṭai;

plur., 1st pers. bāti, 2d pers. bātyo, bātyeu, 3d pers. bāte; *Bhojpuri* has bāte, bate for all persons in both numbers. These forms are from the Sanskrit present [illegible] through the Prākrit vattai. It is probably to this stem [illegible] √bhū) that we must refer the indeclinable bā, much used throughout the Eastern Hindi area as far west as Allahabad, and the [illegible] forms (used in questions and answers) bāṭāṅ (1st sing. and plur.), bāra (2d sing. and plur.), bāṭe (3d sing. and plur.).

√Sthā has yielded the common past [illegible] auxiliary in Hindi, sing. masc. thā, plur. the, fem. thī, plur. thīṅ, used with present and past participles thus—maiñ dekhtā thā, "I was seeing"; maiñ-ne dekhā thā, "I had seen." Thā is from sthitah, as is proved by its forms in Nepālī and Garhwālī; in the former it makes, with incorporation of the substantive root, a regular [illegible] tense,—sing., 1st pers. thiyāṅ, 2d pers. [illegible], 3d pers. [illegible]; plur., 1st pers. thiyaū, 2d pers. thiyau, 3d pers. thiye. The Garhwālī form is thayo, masc. sing., thayā, masc. plur., thai, fem. sing. and plur.

The past participle of the stem rah (in the Hindi sense of "to remain") is used in the Eastern dialects (Awadhī, [illegible], [illegible]), Tirhūtī, and the language of the [illegible] as a substitute for thā to form a past tense; as—jo kuchh [illegible] = High Hindi—jo kuchh uchit thā so kiyā.

There is yet another auxiliary used in place of [illegible] to form a present in Garhwāl, viz., sing., all persons, [illegible]; plur., all persons, [illegible]; as—koī lo! = High Hindi—koī hai? [illegible] = H. H. tum āte ho. The derivation of this word has not yet been explained.

The root bhū is one of great importance in the modern languages, as it is chiefly by its means that the more elaborate modifications of tense and mood are effected. The auxiliaries hitherto [illegible] express only simple present and past time; derivatives of bhū are used, either alone or together with these auxiliaries, to express probability, conditional existence, continuance, commencement, and various other secondary shades of meaning. In standard Hindi this root assumes the form ho, derived from the Sk. present bhavati, Pk. hoïi, hoi; but it has in the dialects an old present [illegible] participle in which the bh survives, [illegible], and [illegible] Sk. bhūtah, Pk. hūo; the former is from a [illegible] form bhavitah, which would in Prākrit be [illegible]. [illegible] the stem ho frequently [illegible] [illegible] hwai, hwe. Of this root we have the following tenses in common use; (1) a present, hoyā [illegible] hoyī (dial. hoe, hoy, [illegible]) [illegible] or respectful imperative [illegible] (dial. [illegible]) [illegible] bhayā, hui (dial. [illegible]) [illegible] tenses made by combining with these the other auxiliaries [illegible] root also apparently [illegible] as a substitute for [illegible] which is [illegible]

huvanto, huvantao, which occurs in Old Hindī under the form *hūnta* as a past tense. Of the six forms above given, the present, future, and present participle are constantly used as auxiliaries, the rest chiefly as independent tenses.

Lastly, the verb *karnā*, "to do," is much used in rustic Eastern Hindi to form periphrastic tenses with the gerund, where in the standard dialect a form of the verb itself would be employed. The gerund which appears in this idiom is that derived from the Sk. future passive participle, ending in the nom. in *-ibo*, oblique *-ibe*, and the construction is most common in negative sentences.

d. *Other Verbal Forms.*—Under this head it will suffice to mention (1) the conjunctive participle, (2) the infinitive or gerund, and (3) the noun of agency.

The *conjunctive participle* in standard Hindī appears either under the form of the verbal stem only (as *mār, chal* = "having beaten," "having gone"), or more commonly under that of the stem increased by the addition of *kar, ke, karke,* or *karkar*; as *mārkar, chalke, uṭhkarke, sunkarkar.* It is very much used to link together subordinate clauses in narration, and forms one of the chief features of the Indian as opposed to the English syntax. This construction, like that of the agent and the passive participle, is a survival from Sanskrit and Prākrit. In archaic Hindi this participle ends in *-i*, as *māri, kari, suni*, and when the root ends in a long vowel, sometimes in *-e*, as *khāe, pie, bulāe, jāe.* In Chand a still longer form, in *iya*, is found. It corresponds to the Prākrit conjunctive participle in *-ia*, as karia, sunia, which are in Sanskrit kṛitwā, śrutwa. In the latter language this participle takes both the terminations *-ya* and *-twā*, the former chiefly in compound roots and the latter in simple ones; but in the northern Prākrits the former, resolved to *-ia*, is alone used. A survival of the Sanskrit *-twā* is, however, found in Mārwāṛi, where the conjunctive participle ends in *-ūne* (marūne, sunūne, &c.); this represents the Prākrit *-ūna*, formed from the Sanskrit *-twānam*, accusative of *-twā*, by the loss of the *t* and vocalization of the *w*; as Sk. mṛitwā, Pk. maraūna, Mārwāṛī marūne. The affix *kar* (older *kari*) is itself the conjunctive participle of *karnā*, and was added when, owing to the loss of the final *-i*, the verbal root only remained, and need was felt of greater distinctness.

The conjunctive participle is not only much used as a connective for the members of a sentence, but in composition with ancillary verbs forms a vast number of compounds, the nature of which is clear from the older forms of the language, in which the first member always appear with the final *-i* or *iya*. In these the idea of separate action contained in the participle has been lost, and the two words express only one act. Such words are *le-ānā* (contracted *lānā*), "to bring" (lit., "having taken to come"); *khā-jānā*, "to eat up" (lit., "having eaten to go"); *pī-lenā*, "to drink down"; *phenk-denā*, "to throw away," &c.

The modern *infinitive* is really a gerund, the Sanskrit infinitive in *-tum* having entirely disappeared. It ends in the standard dialect in *-nā*, inflected *-ne*, fem. *-nī*, plur. *-nīṅ.* In the dialects it

[illegible] two forms, of one of which the characteristic letter is *w*, of the [illegible]

[illegible] such a thing is never to be done." Similarly the [illegible] [illegible] "you must go there," lit., "for you there it is to be gone." [illegible] is implied in the future passive [illegible]. The transition from a future passive to a present active [illegible] in the Latin gerund, where, while [illegible] "in loving."

[illegible] to the inflected infinitive [illegible] "[illegible]," *[illegible]* [illegible] the former probably represents the Sk. [illegible]

A SKETCH

OF THE

HINDUSTANI LAN

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